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ABSTRACT

Building on previous ethnographic research on middle school students' reading and writing activities, a study examined the continuity and change in students' use of, control of, and access to reading and writing resources from kindergarten through grade 8 in an elementary school, a middle school, and the community. Reading and writing resources were defined as physical resources (pencils, pens, paper, books, and erasers) and linguistic task framework resources (the set of constraints on what and how something is read or written). Findings were reported in five major areas: the locus of reading and writing resources; reading and linguistic task framework resources; economic philosophies underlying gaining access to the resources; sex differences in the use of, control of, and access to those resources; and nonclassroom reading and writing resources. Among the findings were the following: (1) as students progressed from kindergarten to grade 8, the location of physical resources increasingly became the individual student, whereas the location of linguistic task framework resources remained with the teacher and the curriculum materials; (2) linguistic task framework resources were characterized by text reproduction, short text-based answers, and cataloging; (3) the economic philosophies inherent in the distribution of the resources were derived from school district policies and influenced by classroom management issues; (4) in the middle school grades, female students brought more supplies to school than male students; and (5) relatives and friends were the major sources of books. (HOD)

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GAINING ACCESS TO AND CONTROL OF READING
AND WRITING RESOURCES: K-8

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OCTOBER 1984

FINAL REPORT SUBMITTED TO NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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INTRODUCTION

THE 1979-1980 STUDY

During the 1979-1980 school year, I was involved in an ethnographic study of junior high school students' reading activities in school, home and community settings (see Bloome, 1981; Bloome & Green, 1982). Part of the findings concerned students' access to and use of pencils and paper. Pencils and paper were not only instruments for completing written assignments, they were also social and economic instruments used to acquire social status, control others, initiate social interaction, and establish a variety of social and economic relationships.

For example, students, especially males, often used pencils for a game called "pencil-break." In pencil-break, one student tries to break the point of another student's pencil by snapping his own pencil at the target pencil. Students take turns until one of the pencil points breaks. The game is competitive and winners gain social status. As one might expect, the game was not viewed favorably by teachers. They

often punished students caught playing pencil-break.

Losing a game of pencil-break could have serious negative consequences. If a student only had one pencil and the point broke, he could not continue a classroom written assignment unless he sharpened his pencil. However, teachers often had rules about when the pencil sharpener could be used. Typically, students could sharpen pencils only at the beginning of the class and often only before the beginning bell rang. Thus, sharpening a pencil was not usually an available remedy to losing at pencil-break. Students tended to either (a) sharpen what remained of their pencil with their fingernails and attempt to work on the written assignment as best as possible, (b) pretend to work on the written assignment, and/or (c) borrow a pencil from another student. Borrowing a pencil was the most frequent tactic taken. Both male and female students tended to borrow from female students. The female students were more likely to have several pencils and extra paper than were the male students. Further, female students rarely refused a request for pencils or paper from a male student.

During the ethnographic study other observations were made about pencils and paper and these are reported in Bloome & Green (1982). Observations were also made about other reading and writing resources such as the use and control of textbooks, pens, forms, notebooks, signs, posters, worksheets, library books, paperback books, among others. These observations are also reported in Bloome & Green (1982).

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current study was undertaken to follow-up on the findings of the 1979-1980 study. Of specific concern were:

- (a) the development of patterns of use and control of reading and writing resources; and,
- (b) how students gain access to reading and writing resources.

That is, the study examined continuity and change in use of, control of, and gaining access to reading and writing resources across grades kindergarten to eight.

In conceptualizing the study, a definition of reading and writing resources was needed. The definition used in the 1979-1980 study had been limited to physical resources like pencils and paper. But, it was clear that the definition used in the 1979-1980 study was inadequate. Reading and writing resources also consisted of "linguistic task frameworks" for completing written language assignments.

For example, when students receive a sheet of paper, they need to know what to do with it. What should be written on the paper? where? how? in what order? when? by whom? In order to appropriately complete a written assignment, students need to know (that is, have access to) the linguistic task framework that constrains what they do with the sheet of paper. Worksheets, for example, constrain what a student does with a sheet of paper by limiting what can be written and where it can be written. Teachers may place directions on the blackboard that tell how a paper is to be used. Directions may be given

orally. Regardless of the mode in which the linguistic task framework is presented, students need to gain access to that linguistic task framework. Thus, in the current study, two types of reading and writing resources were targeted: physical resources (e.g., pencils and paper) and linguistic task framework resources.

While the findings reported in this study are derived from the study of a relatively small number of classrooms (9 classrooms in one school and 4 in another), the findings can be viewed as grounded-hypotheses. That is, the findings are not intended to be descriptions of every classroom or of every k-8 sequence. Rather, the findings describe theoretical constructs about the use of, control of, and processes of gaining access to reading and writing resources. These theoretical constructs have implications for (a) researchers concerned with exploring reading and writing development or classroom processes, (b) educators concerned with program development and evaluation, and (c) educational practitioners (e.g., teachers and principals) concerned with academic achievement and implementing quality reading and writing instructional programs.

WHAT IS COVERED IN THIS REPORT

This report is divided into four sections. The first section (Chapter 1) describes how the study was conducted and the theoretical constructs that guided the study. The second section describes each of the schools, communities, and classrooms involved in the study (Chapters 2). The third

section contains the research findings (Chapters 3 through 7). The fourth section discusses implications of the findings for research and practice (Chapter 8).

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research findings are divided into five chapters. Each chapter represents a major issue or group of issues that evolved during the study. The chapters are written so that they can be read independently of each other. Thus, there is some repetition across chapters.

The five chapters are:

CHAPTER 3 -- LOCUS OF READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Findings in Chapter 3 include (a) the location of different reading and writing resources within the classroom, (b) who controls, or gatekeeps, the use of reading and writing resources, (c) who is responsible for maintenance of reading and writing resources, and (d) what changes are there in the location, control, and responsibility for reading and writing resources across grades k-8.

CHAPTER 4 -- READING AND WRITING LINGUISTIC TASK FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

Intrptcl.doc

[* WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING
In order to use the Intr procedure in Turbo Pascal you must be familiar with
interrupts and have access to a technical reference manual.

The following program uses the Intr function in Turbo to get the time. Registers
have to be set correctly according to the DOS technical reference manual
before the function is called.

The program simply returns the time in a string at the top of the screen.*]

```
program TimeInterrupt;
type
  TimeString = string[8];

function time: TimeString;
type
  regpack = record
    ax,bx,cx,dx,bp,di,ds,es,flags: integer;
  end;

var
  regpack:      regpack;           (assign record)
  ah,al,ch,cl,dh: byte;
  hour,min,sec: string[2];

begin
  ah := $2c;                       (initialize correct registers)
  with regpack do
  begin
    ax := ah shl 8 + al;
  end;
  intr($21,regpack);               (call interrupt)

  with regpack do
  begin
    str(cx shr 8,hour);
    str(cx mod 256,min);
    str(dx shr 8,sec);
  end;
  time := hour+' '+min+' '+sec;
end;

begin
  writeln(time);
end;
```


doscall.doc

[* WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING WARNING

Do not try to use the MaDos function call unless you are very familiar with the operating system and have technical information available to you!

The following program uses the MaDos command in Turbo to retrieve the system date. This is achieved via DOS function call 42 (or 2A hex). The function call is placed in the AH register according to the technical reference manual.

Type in the following code. The only output is the date at the top of your screen.*]

program GetDate;

type

 DateStr = string[10];

function Date: DateStr;

type

 regpack = record

 ax,bx,cx,dx,bp,si,ds,es,flags: integer;

 end;

var

 regpack: regpack;

 (record for MaDos call)

 month,day: string[2];

 year: string[4];

 dx,cx: integer;

begin

 with regpack do

 begin

 ax := \$2a shl 8;

 end;

 MaDos(regpack);

 (call function)

 with regpack do

 begin

 str(cx,year);

 (convert to string)

 str(dx mod 256, day);

 ["]

 str(dx shr 8, month);

 ["]

 end;

 date := month+' '+day+' '+year;

write;

begin

 writeln(date);

end.

The nature of the dominant linguistic framework resources across grades is described.

CHAPTER 5 -- ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES UNDERLYING GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Across grades the distribution of reading and writing resources was based on both explicit and implicit economic theories. In part, economic philosophies were part of the 'hidden' curriculum presented in the classroom. In part, economic philosophies were necessary means of organizing limited resources in the classroom.

CHAPTER 6 -- SEX DIFFERENCES IN STUDENT USE OF, CONTROL OF, AND GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Differences in how male and female students gain access to reading and writing resources were found in the 1979-1980 study. While in the current study differences were noticeable even in kindergarten, differences in early elementary school were not as profound nor as consistent as differences in upper elementary and middle school.

CHAPTER 7 -- NON-CLASSROOM READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Students are expected to bring reading and writing resources to school and to make use of libraries and other resources in their communities. The findings in this chapter describe the availability of reading and writing resources in the two school communities and how students gain access to reading and writing resources in their community.

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There are many people and organizations whose help, advice, and constructive criticism have been important to the study. Whatever flaws remain in the study are the sole responsibility of the author. Among those organizations that should be acknowledged are --

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Florio alerted my attention to the importance of the ways in which students had oriented themselves to reading and writing resources. And, Dr. Florio suggested ways to look at reading and writing resources that highlighted their social and interactive nature within the classroom and school.

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SECTION 1 -- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ASSUMPTIONS

CHAPTER 1 -- THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS AND CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

The purposes of this chapter are (a) to discuss the theoretical constructs underlying the study, (b) to describe the research problem, and (c) to describe the research method and conduct of the study.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the study are based on recent research in sociolinguistics, the anthropological study of literacy, the sociology of education, and child language development. The theoretical constructs demand that reading and writing be studied as part of the social-interpersonal context. Because this view of reading and writing is described in detail elsewhere (see Bloome & Green, 1982; 1984) it will only be briefly described below.

In addition, two major theoretical constructs directly related to the study of reading and writing resources will be discussed. First, that reading and writing resources are defined socially. That is, what counts as a reading and/or writing resource, how/when/where it can/should be used is determined through social interaction. Second, reading and writing resources can be viewed as 'tools' similar to a the tools of a factory worker, craftsperson, carpenter, or other

worker. Just as a worker's tools influence what a worker does, reading and writing resources influence what readers and writers do.

READING AND WRITING AS CONTEXTUATED ACTIVITY

Reading and writing have traditionally been viewed as a cognitive-linguistic process in which reader/writer-text interaction produces a meaning for the text. However, recently researchers have viewed the cognitive-linguistic dimension of reading and writing as only one dimension of a multi-dimensional process.

Among other dimensions that need to be included are: (a) the socio-communicative functions that reading/writing meets (Goodman & Goodman, 1979; Sulzby, 1981; Tesle, 1982), (b) the face-to-face interactional context in which reading/writing activities take place including the instructional context (Green & Harker, 1982; Collins, 1981; Griffin, 1979; Heap, 1980, 1982;), the peer context (Bloome, 1981; Gilmore, 1981; Wilkinson & Calculator, 1982), the family context (Heath, 1982b; Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Gaines, 1982; Cockran-Smith, in press), the community-culture context (Heath, 1982a; Cook-Greuter, Greuter & Simons, 1981; Reder & Green, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Smith, in press; Varenne, Hauid-Buglione, McDermott & Morison, 1982), and (c) constraints at the institutional level (McDermott, 1976), and at the societal level (Ogbu, 1974).

By viewing reading as a multi-dimensional process (including the dimensions listed above hereafter referred to as

social contexts of reading and writing), reading and writing can be defined as contextuated processes. That is, reading and writing are (a) influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and (b) are part of the process involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people.

The consequences of viewing reading and writing as a contextuated process are twofold. First, questions are raised about the nature of reading and writing across contexts. That is, questions are raised about continuity and change in reading and writing activity and how reading/writing events are constructed. These questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about _a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that (a) can capture the context(s) of reading and writing and (b) provide a means for comparison across contexts. Detailed discussions related to the exploration of reading/writing as a contextuated process can be found in Green & Bloome (in press), Hymes (1982), Erickson & Shultz (1981), Erickson (1979), McDermott, Gaspodinoff & Aron (1976), Smith (in press) among others.

In brief, as a contextuated process reading and writing are viewed as both influenced by and as part of the social context(s). Understanding reading and writing requires capturing the context(s) of reading and writing including (a) how reading and writing events are constructed and (b)

continuity and change across reading and writing events.

Reading and writing resources are one dimension of the context of reading and writing. The theoretical constructs related to reading and writing resources below are based on a view of reading and writing as contextualized processes.

READING AND WRITING RESOURCES ARE DEFINED SOCIALLY

There are two kinds of reading and writing resources considered in the study: (a) physical resources such as pencils, pens, paper, books and (b) linguistic task framework resources such as worksheets and instructions for what to write on a paper, and how to read a text. Physical resources are needed to engage in reading and writing. Less obvious, linguistic task framework resources are also needed. For example, consider a student who is given a pencil and paper and told to write. The student needs to know (a) what to write, (b) how to write (e.g., print, cursive, in columns, in paragraphs, with a friend), (c) when to write (e.g., in school, at home, before reading group), and (d) where to write (e.g., at the desk, on the floor, at the group table). Linguistic task framework resources provide constraints that allow students to make appropriate decisions about what, how, when, and where to write and/or read.

Gaining access to both the physical and linguistic task framework resources involves social interaction among teachers and students. For example, in order to complete a task written on the blackboard, students must get a pencil, paper, a place to write, a view of the blackboard, and a set of constraints

describing what should be done (e.g., instructions given orally by the teacher or written on the blackboard). Getting a pencil might involve getting the teacher's attention or finding an appropriate moment to leave one's seat and go to a pencil jar. Getting the set of constraints (that is, the linguistic task framework resources) necessary for completing the task might involve making requests of the teacher or a friend to explain what needs to be done and how.

One way in which participation in reading and writing events can be made difficult for students is to deny access to reading and writing resources or to make gaining access a difficult process. That is, gaining access to reading and writing resources is not only a matter of students' communicative competence (e.g., ability to recognize and respond to the required communicative demands of gaining access), but is also a matter of gatekeeping (that is, providing access to some students while denying access to others). The criteria on which gatekeeping is based may change, for example, from event to event within a classroom, across classrooms, across teachers, across school and non-school settings.

Students can only gain access to those reading and writing resources present. If no erasers are present, they obviously cannot be used. What resources are present involves social and economic decisions as well as pedagogical decisions. For example, the absence of erasers in the kindergarten and first grade classroom involved in the study was based on a lack of funding by the school district (an economic decision). The

first grade teacher felt that giving the students' erasers -- at least in the beginning of the year -- would cause the students to spend too much time erasing and she preferred students to quickly cross out mistakes and rewrite (a pedagogical decision). Further, the paper provided by the school was so flimsy that it rapidly tore when erasers were used. Near the end of the year, the students were given pencils with erasers. The students valued the pencils and viewed receiving pencils with erasers as an indication of their maturity and academic progress. Thus, receiving erasers was viewed, in part, by students as a social marker.

What resources are available from event to event, across classrooms, across grades, across schools, and across home-community and school settings is part of the construction of the social context of reading and writing events. This is not to say that decisions about the availability of resources is solely (or even primarily) based on social-interactional considerations. Decisions about the availability of resources, as discussed above, would most likely be based on a combination of pedagogical, economic, and social considerations. Nonetheless, the availability of resources influences and is part of the social context of reading and writing events.

In addition to gaining access to resources and the availability of resources, how students use resources is also socially defined (at least in part). For example, students who share a book while reading may be negatively sanctioned by their teacher. Students who use their notebook paper for

personal notes, drawing, or making paper airplanes may also be negatively sanctioned. However, activities that are negatively sanctioned at one time may not necessarily be negatively sanctioned at all times. For example, drawing on notebook paper may be negatively sanctioned during seatwork but condoned during recess. The use of reading and writing resources to reward and punish is also a social process. Students may be punished by requiring them to copy out of a dictionary. Students may be rewarded by allowing them time to draw or to write "creative" stories.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

READING AND WRITING RESOURCES AS TOOLS.

Before discussing reading and writing resources as tools, it is important to discuss the nature of tools and their relationship to tool users.

Tool users are not always in control of their tools. Indeed, they can be no more than appendages to a tool. For example, consider a factory using an automated drill press. The machine and the production line continuously demand that the worker perform specified actions. The tool uses the tool user. Of course, looking at the larger context, it can be argued that both the factory worker and the automated drill press are tools

of the factory owner. Nonetheless, the relationship between factory worker and drill press is one in which the tool user is used by the tool. Of course, tool users can also control tools. For example, consider the same factory worker at home using an electric drill to make a toy for children. What is done with the tool is at the discretion and timing of the tool user. The tool user makes demands of the tool rather than visa versa.

Whether the tool user controls the tool or visa versa depends on the social context of the use of the tool. In the factory, the tool user's use of the drill press is constrained by the social and economic constraints imposed upon him/her. That is, while it is possible for the factory worker to turn off the drill press and to cease responding to the demands of the tool, to do so would require the worker to break both explicit and implicit social rules that govern the appropriate use of the tool at the factory. At home, the social rules that govern the use of the drill are those imposed by the tool user.

These two different types of relationships between tool user and tool are best viewed as opposite ends of a continuum. That is, both tool user and tool exert control and make demands of each other. As situations vary, the degree of control and the strength of the demands made by each will also vary.

There is one additional issue that needs to be presented before discussing reading and writing resources as tools. The issue involves how tools influence what people do and how they perceive the world. For example, consider what happens when someone has a hammer; -- everything begins to look like a nail

to them. They tend to hammer and bang everything.* Having a hammer or any other tool does not necessitate hammering or seeing everything as a nail. However, having the tool may generate a framework for looking at things in terms of what the tool can do. (What the tool "can do" is itself culturally determined. A hammer could be used as a book end but people tend not to think of hammers as serving that purpose). Of course, people do not have only a single tool nor are their relationships to tools the only set of factors influencing how they view a situation or how they will respond to a situation. Nonetheless, broadly conceived, tools exert an influence on the framework with which people approach situations.

By viewing reading and writing resources as tools, it is assumed that similar relationships exist between resource users and the resources as between tool user and tool described above. That is, not only do resource users control the resources, but -- depending on the social context -- the resources may control the resource user. Further, the resources themselves are assumed to exert an influence (but not the only influence) on how the resource user interprets a situation.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In this section, the research questions/issues are listed and discussed; and, background research literature related to the research issues is discussed.

* This example was taken from a speech by Hal Herber at the Wisconsin Reading Association, March 1983.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS/ISSUES

(1) What reading and writing resources are available in classrooms? How does the availability vary across situations? tasks? classrooms? grades K through 8? schools?

(2) How do students gain access to reading and writing resources? How does gaining access vary across situations? classrooms? grades K through 8? schools?

(3) How do students use reading and writing resources? How does the use vary across situations? tasks? classrooms? grades K through 8?

When the three questions above are interpreted in terms of the theoretical constructs discussed earlier in this chapter, then each question can be viewed as requiring the grounded description of the social context(s) of reading and writing resources across grades K through 8. The research method employed is described below.

RESEARCH METHOD AND CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

RESEARCH DESIGN

Background Information. The research project was one of

a series conducted on reading and writing in school and community. The first study (see Bloome, 1981; Bloome & Green, 1982) was conducted in 1979-1980. It focused on urban, black junior high school students' reading and writing activities in school and community. The methodology was both ethnographic and microethnographic. That is, the units of analysis ranged from macro-units (e.g., the school, the neighborhood where the students lived) to micro-units (e.g., teacher-student interaction, peer-to-peer interaction). Techniques used in the study included participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, field notes, photographs, audiotaping, and videotaping. One set of findings from the study involved reading and writing resources. More specifically, reading and writing resources (e.g., pencils) were found to be involved in negotiating social interactions between students and between students and teachers. Further, it was hypothesized that the nature of the reading and writing resources available were part of a social and communicative context that influenced how students approached reading and writing.

Based on the findings of the 1979-1980 study, a series of new studies was initiated. One of those studies is the NCTE study reported here. There were three other studies. A microethnographic study was initiated on the social and communicative contexts of reading and writing in kindergarten, first, and second grade. The third study was also microethnographic in nature but concerned the social and communicative contexts of reading and writing among sixth and

eighth grade students (a different setting than the 1979-1980 study). The fourth study occurred during the Summer of 1982. That study focused on the reading and writing activities of three junior high school male students. Each of the studies involved predominately-minority group students in urban schools. In the k-2 study, the students were pre-dominately Hispanic while in the junior high studies, the students were pre-dominately Black.

Table 1 (below) shows when the studies were conducted.

	Se79	Jn80	--	Se81	D81	Jn82	Se82	D82	Jn83
The 1978-1979 Study	XXXXXXXXXX								
The 6/8th Grade Study				XXXXXXXXXXXX					
The K-2 Study						XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX			
The Summer Study						XXXXXXX			
The NCTE Study							XXXXXXXXXXXX		

Table 1 - TIME LINE OF THE FOUR STUDIES

The coordination of the studies allowed for comparing events across classrooms and schools, utilizing insights gained in one study within another study, and gaining access to

schools, classrooms, students and communities. (Reports of the findings of the K-2 study, the 6th/8th grade study, and the Sumner study are available in reports made to the Spencer Foundation, and the University of Michigan, School of Education. Preliminary findings from those studies can be found in Bloome & Arguado, 1983).

Research Design of the NCTE Study. The research design is based on Hynes (1982) concept of comparative generalization (which is similar to Glaser & Strauss's, 1964, concept of grounded theory, and, type-case analysis as described by Cook-Gusperz, Gusperz & Simons, 1981). Comparative generalization calls for the comparison of descriptions across situations. As descriptions are compared, they are refined. In the NCTE study, descriptions of the nature and use of reading and writing resources were generated/taken from the 1979-1980 study, the 6th/8th grade study, and the K-2 study as well as from the NCTE study. The descriptions provided a starting place for looking across classrooms from kindergarten to grade 8 within one school (or a junior high and its feeder elementary school) and for looking across schools. Through the use of comparative generalization the research questions listed earlier were addressed.

Data Collection. Data collection techniques included participant observation, field notes, ethnographic interviews, photographs, audiotapes, and videotapes. Three researchers were

involved in data collection. Each classroom was observed at least once by both the principal investigator (Bloome) and a graduate assistant (Garcia) at the same time. This allowed the researchers to compare field notes. Each classroom was observed a minimum of three times with one exception (see Diagram 3 below and the section on Data Collection Problems below). In five of the classrooms, data collection involved videotaping key reading and writing events. Key events are defined as (a) recurrent events, (b) main/major events in the classroom as reported by teachers and/or students, and/or (c) gatekeeping events. In these five classrooms, data collection occurred approximately 2-3 half days per week for a period of 6 to 8 months. Table 2 below shows the frequency of participant observation per classroom.

School	Grade	Frequency of P.O.*
Nortown	k	2-3 half days per week (avg) - 7 mos.
Nortown	1	2-3 half days per week (avg) - 6 mos.
Nortown	2	1 half day per week (avg) - 4 mos.
Nortown	3	3 60-90 minute visits
Nortown	4/5*	3 60-90 minute visits
Nortown	5	3 60-90 minute visits
Nortown	6	3 60 minute visits
Nortown	7*	1 60 minute visit
Nortown	8	3 60 minute visits
Bigtown	2	4 120 minute visits
Bigtown	4	4 120 minute visits
Bigtown	6	2-3 half days per week (avg) - 7 mos.
Bigtown	8	2-3 half days per week (avg) - 8 mos.

* P.O. = Participant Observation

* 4/5 split that changes to all 5th grade midyear.

* Teacher illness prevented further data collection.

TABLE 2 - FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

In addition to participant observation, at least two students from each classroom were interviewed. The interviews had two purposes: (a) to check preliminary findings against students interpretation of classroom events, and (b) to understand how students viewed the use and availability of reading and writing resources. Male students were interviewed by a male researcher (Bloome) and female students were interviewed by female researcher (Puro), except in the Bigtown School classes where all the interviewing was done by the principal investigator (Bloome). The procedure for interviewing

students was based on Spradley's (1980) description of the ethnographic interview. The interviewer asks the interviewee to explain how events, objects, people, etc., are classified and what they mean. Students were interviewed in all classes except the Nortown 6th, 7th, and 8th grade. Logistical problems, teacher reassignment, and teacher absence prevented interviewing in those three classrooms.

Interviews were also conducted with the cooperating teachers. All of the teachers except three (the Nortown kindergarten, 7th and 8th grade teachers) were interviewed at length. Interviewing procedures were similar to those used in the student interviews. However, interviews with teachers tended to last from 2 to 3 hours while students tired after 15 to 30 minutes (depending on age). Interviews with the Nortown kindergarten teacher involved brief discussions held after or during class when participant observation occurred.

Interviews with both teachers and students were conducted in April and May. In addition, a meeting with seven of the cooperating teachers at one time was held in late May to report preliminary findings and to receive feedback about the findings and the conduct of the study.

Research Setting. Since the classrooms, schools, and school communities are described in later chapters, a description of the research setting here is omitted.

Data Analysis. Data analysis consisted of three

components. The first component involved the identification of key issues. Key issues were identified (a) through the research questions posed earlier, (b) through discussion with cooperating teachers, and (c) from previous studies (e.g., the 1979-1980 study, the K-2 study, the 6th/8th grade study) that were also viewed as important by the cooperating teachers. The key issues are represented by the five chapters reporting findings. The five issues are (a) the locus of reading and writing resources, (b) sex differences, (c) non-classroom reading and writing resources, (d) economic philosophies underlying gaining access, and (e) reading and writing linguistic task frameworks and definitions of reading and writing.

After identifying the key issues, the corpus of collected data was used to describe each issue. Descriptions were generated from field notes, from the microanalysis of videotapes and audiotapes, from analysis of student papers and classroom texts, and from analysis of classroom photographs.

LIMITATIONS AND PROBLEMS

Limitations. Findings from the study must be viewed in terms of the limitations of the research. The research design focused on three schools; an elementary school, a junior high school, and a K-8 school. Within those schools, the research design provided for an intensive exploration of five classrooms and an overview of eight classes. Thus, it would be unreasonable to expect that the detailed descriptions presented in the findings are descriptions of all classrooms. The

findings raise issues and insights about the nature and use of reading and writing resources. The findings can be viewed as theoretical constructs that help build models of reading and writing development.

Other limitations of the research involve the race of the principal investigator. Seven of the thirteen classrooms consisted of predominately black student populations. The principal researcher and one of the participating graduate assistants were white. There is always the potential when researchers are white and students are black that information gathered through interviews and other means may be distorted.

Only one of the researchers working on the study (Garcia) spoke Spanish and came from a Latino background. The other researchers (Bloome & Puro) had Anglo backgrounds and did not speak Spanish. While all of the students involved in the study spoke English, for many English was primarily spoken at school. A small number of kindergarteners (1-6 depending on the time of the school year) spoke and understood English poorly.

While other limitations exist, the ones above are viewed as major limitations and readers are advised to keep them in mind. In addition to limitations, there were several problems that occurred during data collection. These problems are not viewed as limitations although they may have affected the findings. The problems are not viewed as limitations because experience in working in urban school systems (e.g., the 1979-1980 study, the 6th/8th grade study) has suggested that the problems listed below or similar ones are to be expected and are

part of the "goings on" of urban schools.

Problems. Five major problems are listed here although others existed.

The first was a strike and related action in the Bigtown School District. At the same time that gaining access to classrooms was attempted teachers were worried about contract negotiations and a strike deadline. The strike lasted almost three weeks.

Afterwards, many teachers felt bitter about the conditions of the settlement and about having to go on strike.

A second problem involved budget reductions and teacher lay-offs. At Bigtown School, one teacher who originally agreed to participate in the study was "rified" (laid off) two days after she agreed to participate. Another teacher was reluctant to participate because she received a notice of intent to be "rified". Eventually she agreed to participate and is still teaching. Teacher reductions and reassignments were a bigger problem at the Nortown Schools. In preparation for the study, rapport had been built and access to classrooms and schools had been gained the May and June prior to beginning the study in September. By September, the school principal had been changed and one of the participating teachers had been reassigned and another "rified." At the Nortown Junior High School, two of the cooperating teachers were involved in classroom reassignments. One was reassigned to a reading resource room at mid-year. The other was almost transferred to another school (this is almost as big a problem as an actual transfer since research plans are

readjusted to deal with the transfer and then the researchers wait while nothing happens).

A third problem concerned student mobility and classroom changes. Nortown Elementary School, for example, went through three major classroom reassignments during the first semester of school. In addition, students were constantly being added to and withdrawn from classes. Although a large core of students continued in the classrooms throughout the year, the number of students enrolled in a class continually changed.

The fourth problem involved classroom schedules. Classroom schedules (e.g., when reading groups occurred, on what day students could go to the library) were constantly changing. Class schedule changes were the result of teacher absences in the building (special subject teachers often had to cover whole classes which resulted in schedule changes for all the classrooms in which they were to teach that day which meant teacher planning periods had to be rescheduled causing additional changes), meetings that teachers had to attend (teachers were often told about meetings the day of the meeting or only several days before), and special programs (especially at the end of the year).

A fifth problem was teacher illness. One of the cooperating teachers became frequently ill during the study. Another cooperating teacher had to have surgery and was absent for two weeks in addition to days needed for medical check-ups.

The problems listed above, or similar problems are

viewed as inherent in any long-term study in urban school systems. Nonetheless, the problems make the task of gathering valid data difficult.

SECTION 2 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH SETTINGS

CHAPTER 2 -- DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, a description is given of Bigtown School and its community. In the second section, descriptions of Nortown Elementary School and Nortown Middle School and their communities are given. Finally, in the last section the schools are described in terms of the use of, control of, and gaining access to reading and writing resources.

BIGTOWN SCHOOL AND ITS COMMUNITY

Bigtown School is a kindergarten through grade eight school located in a predominately Black working class community. The school is best understood by describing its physical plant, history and relationship to the rest of the school district. After describing the school, a brief description of the school community is presented.

BIGTOWN SCHOOL PHYSICAL PLANT

Although both the elementary wing and the modular cottages are newer than the main building, all areas of the building seem worn and "old." Students whose classes are located in the modular buildings must go outside to come to the main building. This occurs when students go to the media center, office, gymnasium, art room or to get lunches.

There is no cafeteria in the building. Students eat lunch in their classroom except for a few who eat in the gymnasium. Lunches are eaten in two shifts with elementary children eating lunch first. Since there is no cafeteria, students eat cold lunches.

The school library consisted of two rooms, each the size of a classroom. In one room were tables and book shelves. The second room served as a media center. In the media center were filmstrip projectors, overhead projectors, maps, movie projectors, among other traditional school media equipment. There was a video-tape recorder but the monitor was twenty years old and extremely heavy. There was no way to get the monitor to the second floor since it was too bulky and heavy to carry up the stairs. For a while, the media center had microcomputers, but these were stolen.

Outside of their classrooms, students spent a great deal of time in the halls -- going from one class to another, running errands, and/or meeting friends before and after school. During school students needed hall passes to be in the hall. These usually consisted of a wood object that each teacher used as a re-useable pass. However, students typically did not need a pass. In the elementary wing, students used the hall for work areas and reading areas. Volunteers tutored children in the hall. Elementary teachers often had children go to other rooms for materials or for peer-teaching. That is, there were frequently many children in the hall. Within the first month of school, the vice-principal (who was in charge of the elementary

section) and most of the elementary teachers seemed to know the names of most students. Students would occasionally be questioned about what they were doing in the hall. Since teachers and administrators knew the students and each other's teaching practices well, students who were inappropriately in the hall were sent back to class. Middle school students were rarely found in the hall. Unlike the elementary school students, they did not use the hall as a work area and when they were sent out of class they were always given a hall pass.

In the hall there were display cases, bulletin boards, signs painted on the hall walls, and posters taped to the walls. The display cases typically contained student work such as safety posters or they contained informational displays on such topics as different kinds of kites. The bulletin boards often contained posters (e.g., Logo posters) and/or school notices (e.g., fire escape routes). One bulletin board displayed an honor roll list. One bulletin board was reserved for physical fitness records. There were a series of very small frames for the display of student art work. Half of these frames (4) were broken and empty. The other half contained pictures from the previous year. The list of honor roll students and physical fitness records were frequently outdated sometimes by six months. An exception to the outdated bulletin boards were the scores of student basketball and softball games.

Signs painted on the wall told what each room was. For example, over the library was painted "LIBRARY" in bright red and purple colors. However, rooms were often mislabelled. For

example, the room labelled MUSIC was an English classroom.

Posters that were taped to the walls usually told about a current event (e.g., a dance) and were frequently changed.

There were also posters with inspirational slogans. For example one poster had the following:

12 RULES FOR READING

1. Read
2. Read.
3. Read some more.
4. Read anything.
5. Read about everything.
6. Read enjoyable things.
7. Read things you yourself enjoy.
8. Read, and talk about it.
9. Read very carefully, some things.
10. Read on the run, most things.
11. Don't think about reading, but
12. Just read.

There were posters for charities and concerts. In the elementary wing, posters made by students were hung.

The halls were tiled to the height of five feet. What graffiti was written on the wall was usually done in magic marker and consisted of profane words or John loves Mary type of messages. Graffiti was usually washed off the walls weekly.

On the ground floor level, all of the windows were covered with metal grills. Occasionally, students who were out of class (e.g., at recess) climbed on the grills. Windows were single paned and drafty. The heat was steam heat that began to work in the late morning and was too hot by late afternoon often forcing teachers to open windows in the middle of winter. In the later Spring and Summer, there was little cross ventilation. In the late afternoons on a hot day both faculty and students suffered greatly.

Lockers lined the halls of the building. With rare

exception, elementary students did not use locks on their lockers. Most middle school students did. More than half of the lockers did not work appropriately. Either they would not close properly or they would not stay closed properly. The few good lockers available were highly prized by the middle school students. When a student wore a good coat or brought valuables to school, the student would either take the coat to class or leave it with a friend who had a good locker.

The school office contained teacher mailboxes, two secretary's desks, an office for the principal, and an office for the vice-principal. There was a wooden bench in the school office where students and teachers could wait. All of the areas in the school office were small and crowded.

Although eyes adjust to the low level of light in the main building, just how dark the inside of the school is becomes apparent when leaving the school. After one's eyes adjust to the light inside the school, except on overcast days, walking outside can temporarily hurt one's eyes because the outside by comparison is very bright.

The school grounds consisted of two large fields to the north and south of the building. The north field served as a softball/recreational field for the middle school. Part of the south field was used as the teachers' parking lot while another part was used as a playground for the elementary school. Both the north and south fields were enclosed by a chain-linked fence. Since the school was located on side-streets, during the Winter the adjacent streets were not plowed. Nor were the

nearby sidewalks plowed. Snow piled up on the street and deep ruts in the street formed after heavy snowfalls. School buses had a difficult time getting to and from the school.

RECENT HISTORY OF BIGTOWN SCHOOL

The historical picture presented here is based on discussions with teachers and administrators at Bigtown School. Thus, the history presented here reflects their historical sense of the school rather than a historical view based on other sources such as statistical records. While the accuracy of teachers' and administrators' historical perspective can be questioned, their historical perspective may be more important than the actual history. That is, since the purpose here is to describe the school as it was viewed by those involved in the school, what is important is people's view of the school's history.

The school was viewed as going through the last stage of a transition of being predominately white to being predominately Black. Although white students made up 10% to 33% of the early elementary school classes, in the eighth grade classes only one or two white students per class was typical. Accompanying the transition from predominately white to predominately black were transitions (a) from being known as having an outstanding academic achievement to having mediocre academic achievement, (b) from being able to count on home to support in teaching students their lessons to not being able to count on home support, (c) from having reasonable class sizes to class sizes of 38 to 40,

and (d) from not having to worry about the intrusion of urban problems (e.g., vandalism and violence) to occasionally shocking incidents of violence. (It should be noted that teachers did not blame either students nor families for the perceived decline of the school. Many explanations were offered including global explanations like high unemployment and a failing economy to blaming local school administrators. However, when explanations were given they seemed strained -- as if explanations were only provided as a result of the researcher's questions. That is, while the school may have been viewed as having gone through a decline, explanations for the decline were not part of the historical view).

Interestingly, although the school was viewed as going through an academic decline, both the elementary school and middle school were viewed as academically oriented. In the elementary school section one class at each grade level was designated an "open" classroom. Originally, one of the teachers -- who was the leader of the "open" classroom strand -- had been trained by a nearby educational research foundation to run a "cognitively-oriented" classroom. She had influenced others and eventually an "open" classroom strand had been established. Although the strand was called "open", the teachers felt it was a misappellation and they preferred the term "cognitively-oriented." There was a great deal of variation among the "open" classroom teachers. Some provided many opportunities for students to plan projects and follow through, other emphasized individual skill development in a fixed scope

and sequence. The development of the "open" classroom strand was viewed with pride by school administrators. In the middle school, teachers viewed the school as academically oriented pointing out that there was no metal/wood shop, home economics, nor other non-academically oriented classes. Teachers stated that Bigtown School students did better than other students on standardized tests and that Bigtown School students were better academically prepared for high school.

Part of the recent history of the school must include discussion of teacher lay-offs and budget reductions. Because of seniority rules, the teacher contract, and central administration policies, several teachers at Bigtown School were laid off, reduced in status from teacher to substitute teacher, transferred, or received notice of potential lay-off. The faculty view was that the situation was getting worse year-by-year rather than better. Accompanying the lay-offs, etc., was a budget reduction that made it difficult to obtain supplies, textbooks, and other teaching materials.

RELATIONSHIP OF BIGTOWN SCHOOL TO THE REST OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

Although Bigtown School is a public school, it must compete for students with nearby magnet schools and private schools. With the exception of the "open" classroom strand, many middle-class families, especially white families, choose to send their children to the neighborhood magnet school or to private schools. Although the "open" classroom strand was able

to attract middle-class and white students to Bigtown School, almost all of the "open" classroom strand students left Bigtown School at the end of fourth grade to go to the magnet "open" school or to go to nearby religiously oriented private schools. One of the reasons student leave at the end of fourth grade is that getting into the magnet school requires entering at fifth grade. The chances of getting in after fifth grade are slim.

Central school district administrators viewed Bigtown School as an effective school. They based their description on standardized achievement tests and the past reputation of the school.

The central school district administration mandated several programs for elementary and middle schools including a competency-based reading program, and a Standard English language program. Teachers were supposed to follow program directions and record-keeping. Few teachers at Bigtown School did so. Most occasionally used the programs (especially when they had to produce student progress reports). About half the teachers ignored the programs altogether and completed the required record-keeping based on other student activities. One central school district administrator responsible for making sure the reading program was used appropriately confided that she knew many teachers were ignoring the program and as long as the teachers were 'doing o.k.' that it was tacitly alright for them to ignore the reading program.

BIGTOWN SCHOOL COMMUNITY

The neighborhoods around Bigtown School are best characterized as residential areas of single family homes. A recent newspaper survey found that the Bigtown School neighborhoods had the greatest number of children per household of any area in the city. Although the neighborhoods were officially listed as three neighborhoods (each with its own neighborhood organization), the community consisted of five neighborhoods formed by a combination of geographical and class boundaries. There was an upper-middle class integrated neighborhood, two middle class/working class pre-dominately Black neighborhoods, a working class integrated neighborhood, and a working class pre-dominately Black neighborhood (located about five miles from the school -- students were bussed to the school from this neighborhood as part of the desegregation plan). Boundaries between neighborhoods were marked by major streets, differences in housing stock, and changes in zoning laws.

In all of the neighborhoods there appeared to be a lot of moving. For sale signs were numerous. People moved to other parts of the city, to the suburbs, and to the south and southwestern parts of the country. People's moving was primarily related to their jobs and social/economic mobility.

The neighborhood associations collected dues from willing members to plow the streets and sidewalks when it snowed, hold neighborhood festivals and circulate newsletters. Among the issues of recent concern to the neighborhood

associations had been the proliferation of video arcades, property values, and crime prevention. The neighborhood association newsletters advertised open houses held by the neighborhood private schools as well as describing activities at the private schools.

The commercial areas in the school community include a retail shopping center, small corner stores, auto shops, and other small businesses. While there are in major industrial plants nearby, adjacent to the working class neighborhoods are small manufacturing firms and chemical distribution terminals.

The only bookstore is about five miles from the school and carries only "Christian books." The neighborhood library was also about five miles from the school and was open for a half day on Tuesdays and Thursdays. A small selection of paperback books was available at the discount store in the shopping center.

Among the churches in the neighborhood are several store-front churches. There are five sizeable churches. One runs a private school. Two offer community activities for adults and children and run religious Sunday schools. One serves a predominately suburban crowd and is rarely involved in the local community.

Regarding gangs, drug traffic, and youth crime; -- although a major drug bust of a youth gang occurred in the neighborhood, gangs were not perceived to be a problem (the drug bust involved a house used by the gang for storage). Drugs were sold and used in neighborhood parks but the activity was very

low profile.

NORTOWN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL / NORTOWN MIDDLE SCHOOL AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

Nortown Elementary School is a kindergarten to grade 5 school; Nortown Middle School is a grade 6 to 8 school. The schools are best understood by describing their physical plant, history and curricular organization. Like Bigtown School, a student could potentially attend grades k-5 at Nortown Elementary and grades 6-8 at Nortown Middle School. However, there were few students who did so. After describing the schools a brief description of the school communities will be given.

PHYSICAL PLANTS

A booklet about Nortown Elementary School published in the early 1970's (no publishing date was printed in the booklet) describes the physical plant as follows:

The design of the [school] represents a radical departure from the traditional "boxlike" educational facility. The uneven roof lines, staggered periphery and broken walk ways help the [school] to blend with the architecture of the surrounding civic center. Special features include : a sky lighted pedestrian street which passes through the community level. Along the street are located a theater for the performing arts, a

community lounge, a public restaurant, an adult learning center, medical and dental clinics, a home economics room, conference rooms, agency and administrative offices and adult classrooms. The student level consists of three major instructional areas which accommodate 1,500 elementary children, a nursery, parent education room, special education learning center, ethnic center, gymnasium and administrative offices...THE SPIRIT OF THE [SCHOOL]...Architect John Jones [pseudonym], "When the kids first got in they couldn't believe it was a school -- it was fun!" One of the children, "It has almost every color I can think of -- even the people are different colors." Several people "The [School] is the most truly integrated school I've ever seen."

The school building was designed to house two elementary schools and a community center. The community center activities were housed on the second floor while the two elementary schools were housed on the ground floor.

Halls, classrooms and other areas in the building are brightly colored. A rug covers classroom areas and the library. Many walls are moveable and all classrooms (with the exception of the kindergarten) open into the library which is recessed in the middle of the school. However, bookcases, desks, and tables

form take-shift barriers.

There was little graffiti on the building either inside or out. There were no bars on the windows and few windows were broken during the time of the study.

According to the booklet about the school, development of the building had four goals:

1. To provide an improved education program for elementary students;
2. To provide increased and improved community services to residents of the area;
3. To provide a racially balanced school setting; and,
4. To improve the physical environment of the community.

While these goals may have been met prior to the

research study, at least three of the four goals did not seem to have been met. The design of the school provided for an "open" elementary school program. However, at the time of the study all of the classrooms were self-contained, traditionally structured classrooms. Furniture was arranged to provide barriers between rooms and there was little student movement between areas or classrooms in the school. At the time of the study, many community services once provided at the school building were either drastically cutback or eliminated. Although the student population included Blacks, Latinos, and whites, the predominate population was Latino and Black with a very small number of white students (about 10%).

Unlike Nortown Elementary School, Nortown Middle School is an old building.

Students have a homeroom class and then pass from class to class during the day. The hallways were dark and needed painting. Most classrooms had outside windows and therefore were well-lighted. In those classrooms that had blinds or curtains, they were broken or torn. Desks, tables and other classroom furniture were old with many initials and other graffiti carved into them. There was new furniture in the cafeteria but it was also covered with graffiti. Chairs in the auditorium were wood, old, many were cracked and some broken. The outside grounds, while not ill-kept, also seemed worn and ragged.

In the hallways were bulletin boards and display cases. On the bulletin boards were parent information (copies of flyers sent home to parents about school rules and policies), a sign welcoming back adult education students, and a large poster about Black History (the poster was located about nine feet off the floor and above a display case and required students to read very small print in order to identify the names and events depicted). In the display cases were trophies won by the school for athletic events, notices about school pictures and other current school wide events, displays of student art work, and samples of the merchandise available at the school store.

At the school store students could purchase T-shirts, sweatshirts, school bags, hats, notebooks (5 different kinds), pencils and pens. Also, fundraising items -- such as candy -- could be purchased.

HISTORY

The historical description of Nortown Elementary School and Nortown Middle School is based on discussions with teachers and administrators. It represents their view of the history of the schools. However, the history of the schools needs to be viewed against larger historical trends which involved the Nortown School District. These trends include:

1. Reduction in the white, middle class population of the school district. Increases in both low-income Latino and low-income Black populations.

2. An expansion of the dominant industry in the city followed by a sustained and severe decline of the industry resulting in increasingly high unemployment and underemployment from the mid-1970's through the time of the study and beyond.

3. School desegregation plans marred by violence against school property and minority-group children.

While these historical trends are not unique to Nortown, they did influence the actions of educators in the school system. For example, the goals established for building Nortown Elementary School (listed earlier) were a direct response to the larger historical trends affecting the school district.

History of Nortown Elementary School. According to the school district's brochure, Nortown Elementary School was originally established as a result of a parent petition. The Nortown School Board at that time sought to create what the brochure called a "farsighted" response. As described above, the school that was built was intended for many community purposes and was intended to have a large number of educational

and community resources. In addition, the school was designed as an "open" school.

According to teachers currently working in the building, the "open" school was a disaster. Students learned little, students were unmanageable, students were undisciplined. Through both administrative organization and teacher efforts, the "open" school concept was abandoned soon after the school was opened and classes became self-contained and traditionally structured.

Throughout the history of the school many changes were made in both administrative and teacher personnel. At the time of the study, better than 33% of the teachers at Nortown received lay-off notices. Although only a few lay-offs occurred, other teachers were transferred and some reassigned to other programs. The change in administrative personnel resulted in curricular changes. For example, during the year of the study, a program of advanced classes for "bright" students started by a previous administrator was discontinued.

When the school was originally opened, there were numerous programs for adults and children. These included adult education classes, music classes, remedial reading programs, English as a Second Language programs, bilingual/bicultural programs, among others. Program funding primarily came from the state and/or federal government. Reduction in state and federal funding resulted in the closing and many of the programs. During the year of the study, the pre-kindergarten bilingual program was closed, and Title 1 programs were closed (although

state funds provided for limited continuation of remedial reading programs).

History of Nortown Middle School. Nortown Middle School had been a junior high school, a grade 7 and 8 school, an elementary and junior high school, and currently a middle school. Changes were typically a result of population shifts in the school district.

Unlike Nortown Elementary School, extensive changes in personnel were not a common feature. However, during the year of the study, there was a new principal and vice-principal. The new principal initiated curricular changes that are reported later in this chapter.

Teacher discussions of historical changes were usually based on teacher personalities and changes. For example, teachers would talk about who was moved to the high school or elementary school, who was moved to the Reading Lab, whether the current administrator was as 'fair' as the past one. One of the changes noted by teachers was access to the library. Whole classes had fewer opportunities to use the library.

Curricular Changes At Nortown Middle School. Nortown Middle School's curricular organization was unlike Nortown Elementary School. Students had a homeroom and then changed classes for their other subjects; -- English, social studies, math, science, etc. Classes were traditionally structured. Mid-quarter examinations, quarter examinations and final

examinations were school-wide policies and viewed very seriously.

The curricular changes instituted by the new principal are best described under the rubrics of atmosphere and expectations. The principal initiated school-wide fundraising activities that resulted in field trips to Toronto for nearly the whole eighth grade student body. He organized many school-wide 'pride' days (e.g., days when students could wear the school hat or should wear the school colors). He stood in the hall during passing time and asked students about their books and classes, pleasantly directing them to hurry to classes. At the end of school, he was in the halls checking to make sure students were carrying home books needed for homework. He was planning to implement the following year a school-wide sustained silent reading period. He initiated school wide policies about grading and student homework. In effect, he attempted to implement an upbeat atmosphere of school pride coupled with high academic expectations for students.

NORTOWN ELEMENTARY AND NORTOWN MIDDLE SCHOOL COMMUNITIES

Since Nortown Elementary School is, in part a magnet school -- taking in all of the school district's non-English proficient students, and since bussing brings in students from several communities, it is inaccurate to talk about a single Nortown Elementary or Middle School community. There are several communities. However, the several communities that are served by Nortown Elementary and Nortown Middle School have some

common features. The housing stock is dominated by small wood frame houses, usually one story (or one story and an attic bedroom). In each of the communities, the major employers are the auto plants which -- during the time of the study -- had laid off over 50% of their employees (one plant had shut down completely).

Each of the communities were identifiably Black or Latino. Particularly among both youth gangs and social service agencies there was a great deal of antagonism between Black and Latino communities. Most of the churches in the communities were small and none of the churches in the communities were notably involved in social service activities. Indeed, there were no social service centers of any kind within the communities (which is not to say that there weren't active churches and social service centers in the city; rather there weren't any in the neighborhoods served by the two schools). City services to the communities were minimal -- streets were plowed irregularly if at all, parks and playgrounds in the neighborhoods were not maintained, and according to residents, police rarely patrolled the neighborhoods (as one resident put it "The only time you see the police is when you call them and even then they might not come.") The lack of city services can be, at least partially, explained by the large cut in city revenues from plant closings.

What stores existed within the communities were small corner grocery stores. Supermarkets, bookstores, libraries, social service centers, government centers, etc., all existed

outside of the neighborhoods and at a good distance (e.g., not within walking distance).

THE SCHOOLS AND ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Aspects of gaining access to reading and writing resources have been briefly alluded to above. For example, in each school community bookstores and libraries were not readily accessible (in the Bigtown community the library was nearby but open only on a limited basis) and required that an adult drive a student to the bookstore or library. However, it is important that the economic descriptions of the communities not be taken as an indicator of how many books were available in homes. Without exception, each of the homes visited during the study had a 'library' of books. Also without exception, each home also had a children's library -- that is, a collection of books that were for the children. According to interviews with both parents and students, the home libraries were active -- usually at least one kid was currently reading something from the library. Children's libraries were built through gifts from parents, other relatives, mail order (e.g., book clubs), purchases from school, and longterm borrowing from friends. These findings were consistent with the findings in the earlier 1979-80 study.

BIGTOWN SCHOOL POLICIES AND ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

The policy having the most overt impact on student

access to reading and writing resources was that textbooks were not allowed home. Whatever homework students had was to be done without a textbook.

The impact of the policy was that student homework was infrequently given. When homework was given it was dominated by worksheets (except in the open classrooms), or work students had copied from a textbook. (There were of course reports and projects needed to be completed at home but these were not dominant homework activities).

In interviews parents complained about the textbook policy. They were especially upset because (1) they could not help their children and (2) children who were 'not as quick as some others' had no chance to get the knowledge at home. Often parents would attempt to find or buy the textbooks from neighbors and relatives. Sometimes, at parent request, a student 'stole' home a textbook. One of the hottest items at garage sales were current textbooks.

Bigtown School policies also concerned an allocation of pencils and paper per classroom. Teachers complained about the insufficient number of pencils and supplemented the supplies the school gave them. Erasers were not supplied.

Another policy related to reading and writing resources were the mandated reading and writing programs. These were briefly described earlier. The reading program was an isolated skills, hierarchy and mastery program. Teachers were supposed to use the program at least twice weekly. The writing program consisted of a series of grammar lessons. Teachers wrote a

prescribed paragraph (or series of sentences) that were filled with errors on the blackboard. Students copied the sentences correcting the mistakes. The impact of the mandated reading program has been described in previous papers (see Bloome, 1983; Bloome & Argumedo, 1983).

Students could gain access to the school library by permission of their teachers. Elementary school students made more use of the library than middle school students.

NORTOWN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POLICIES AND ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Like Bigtown School, at Nortown Elementary School textbooks were not supposed to be taken home. The results and impact were the same on parents, children and community. Like Bigtown School, pencils were allocated for classroom use. Like Bigtown School, supplies were insufficient and teachers supplied needed pencils and erasers.

The mandated reading program involved a phonics-based, structured basal reading program. There was a supplemental skills workbook and weekly mastery tests were administered. While there was some disagreement among school faculty over how good or important the program was, every teacher followed the program as prescribed. Indeed, every teacher throughout k-5 tracked the students through their reading groups. That is, a student who started in the middle reading group stayed in that group unless the student made enough progress -- e.g., mastered enough skills as indicated by the weekly mastery tests -- to

catch up to the group ahead. Students who fell behind were dropped to a lower group. If a student or group of students fell in between two groups then a new group was made. Thus, in a single classroom there might be 3,4,5 or even 6 reading groups of one to fifteen students.

There was no mandated writing program at Nortown Elementary School, although lower elementary teachers were expected to teach students how to draw their letters and upper elementary teachers were expected to teach students cursive writing.

As described earlier, the library was located in the center of the school and physical access could be gained from almost any point. However, school policies limited access to lower elementary students. A library time was set aside for each class once a week. During this time, lower elementary school students had an opportunity to select books and to see a movie about a book. Teachers differed on whether library books were allowed to go home. Upper elementary school teachers tended to allow books to go home while lower elementary school teachers tended to restrict library books to the classroom.

NORTOWN MIDDLE SCHOOL AND ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Unlike either Bigtown School or Nortown Elementary, students at Nortown Middle School were expected to take their textbooks home for homework. There was a school-wide homework policy that mandated an hour of homework twice a week from each

of the four major academic subjects. During school, students kept their textbooks in lockers or carried them to class.

Pencils were not supplied by the school. Students had to supply their own pencils, pens, erasers, and paper. Teachers provided for exceptions (e.g., students could sign for a pencil if they had forgotten theirs).

Although there was a standard curriculum and textbooks, teachers were given wide latitude in how they implemented the written curriculum. However, teachers were expected to give a midterm and final examination every quarter.

The library was available to students with the permission of their teacher or when the teacher had the students working on a group project. Given that half of the students were bussed to school, many students had little or no opportunity to go to the library before or after school (the times when the library was "open" to students).

What is perhaps most noteworthy about Nortown Middle School is the school store. At the beginning of the day, a student can purchase from the store pencils, paper, pens, notebooks, erasers, book covers, T-shirts, candy (during the candy sale week), stickers, and other related items. The school sold these at a profit to help provide funds for field trips.

SECTION 3 - FINDINGS

CHAPTER 3 - - LOCUS OF READING AND WRITING RESOURCES*

In order to read or write, a student needs resources. At the very least a student needs a book or some other text for reading, something to write with and something to write on (e.g., pencil and paper). In addition to physical resources (like book, pencil and paper), students also need linguistic-framework resources that help constrain how they are to use reading and writing resources.

Within a classroom there can be great variety in the kinds of physical and linguistic-framework resources available. Different kinds of resources may be required for different reading and writing tasks; for example, flimsy 10 .lb green paper for handwriting and white 20 .lb paper for creative stories. Students need to use the resources appropriate to the given task and they need to gain access to those resources.

The purpose of this chapter is to report findings about the locus of classroom reading and writing resources. In addition, findings are presented about who controls and is responsible for maintaining reading and writing resources. The findings come from a year-long study of 13 classrooms in three schools. Before presenting the findings, a brief overview of the study is given including a discussion of the theoretical framework within which the findings are viewed.

* This chapter is co-authored by David Bloome and Pamela Puro.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

As stated in the Introduction, each chapter is written so that it can be read independently of other chapters. The overview presented here is a summary of Chapter 1. Readers who have read Chapter 1 or who have read overviews in other chapters should feel free to skip the overview presented here.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the research are described in detail in Chapter 1. Briefly, there are three main theoretical constructs: (1) reading and writing are not only cognitive-linguistic processes but are also social-communicative processes requiring that reading and writing be viewed as contextuated activities, (2) reading and writing resources are defined socially, and (3) reading and writing resources are "tools" and like any set of "tools," the nature of the "tools" influences what the tool-user does. These three constructs are briefly discussed below.

Reading and Writing as Contextuated Activities. Recent research has shown that reading and writing are influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and at the same time reading and writing are part of the processes involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people (see Bloome & Green, 1982; Bloome & Green, 1984). That is, the interpersonal contexts in which reading and writing take place influence the cognitive-linguistic nature of reading and writing

while at the same time reading and writing are used to shape interpersonal relationships. Thus, the social-communicative contexts of reading and writing become important not only as background to reading and writing processes but also as the foreground as well.

The result of viewing reading and writing as contextuated processes is at least twofold. First, questions are raised about similarities and differences in the nature of reading and writing across contexts. Such questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence alluded to above. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that can capture the contexts of reading and writing and provide a means for comparison. Such an approach is more dialectical than cumulative.

Reading and Writing Resources Are Defined Socially. In order to engage in reading and writing, students need appropriate resources; -- both physical resources and linguistic task framework resources. Gaining access to those resources is a social process. That is, who gets what resources when, where, and how is determined through teacher-student and student-student interaction. Students may fail to gain access because they lack the needed communicative competence or they may fail to gain access because others are denying access to

then.

Students can gain access only to those resources present. What resources are available is also socially determined. That is, what resources are to be made available to one group of students versus another is explicitly or implicitly a social decision involving relationships between people.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

Reading and Writing Resources as Tools. People use tools and tools use people. For example, a factory worker using a drill on a production line is an appendage of the tool. The worker must meet the demands of the tool and production line. The tool uses the worker. However, at home the same factory worker may use a drill to make a toy. In that situation, the tool is an appendage of the worker and the tool can make no demands of the worker (the worker makes demands of the tool).

Another important aspect of the relationship between tools and people is how tools influence the framework with which people "see" the world. A person with a hammer may look at the world as a series of nails. Of course, having a tool or a set of tools does not necessitate "seeing" the world in terms of those tools, but is rather one of a number of subtle influences. Indeed, how people view what tools can do is also a social

process. For example, a hammer could be used as a bookend. However, people do not tend to think of hammers as bookends. In other words, what tools can be used for is influenced by social processes, past experiences, and the frameworks that people have developed for the use of tools.

The concepts above about tools are also true about reading and writing resources. Students both use and get used by reading/writing resources. Reading/writing resources influence how students "see" the world. And, the use of reading/writing resources is limited by the frameworks that students (and others) develop for their use.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

Detailed description of the research study is provided in Chapter 1. Data collection techniques included field notes, videotaping, audiotaping, photopgraphs, collection of samples of student work, and ethnographic interviewing. Data analysis involved three stages. First, general patterns and questions about the nature and use of reading/writing resources were generated. These general patterns and questions were based on previous research (see Introduction), on recurrent issues and patterns suggested by data collected from the field, and on participants' perspectives (as revealed through interviews and participant observation). Second, detailed descriptions were made of the use and nature of reading/writing resources pertinent to the general patterns and questions previously established. And finally third, detailed descriptions were

shared with participating teachers who validated the descriptions (findings) as "accurate" from their perspectives.

Data on reading and writing resources were collected in 13 classrooms over an eight month period (the amount of time and period over which each classroom was studied varied; -- see Chapter 1 for details). In Nortown Elementary School one class at each grade, K to 5, was studied. At Nortown Middle School, one English class at each grade, 6 to 8, was studied. At Bigtown School, one class at grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 was studied. Descriptions of the schools and the school communities can be found in Chapter 2.

FINDINGS ON THE LOCUS OF READING/WRITING RESOURCES

The findings reported in this chapter are summarized in Diagrams 3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-4 and 3-5. These five diagrams graphically show K-8 changes in the location of physical and linguistic-framework reading and writing resources (Diagrams 3-2, 3-3, and 3-4), in the K-8 evolution of classroom space (3-1), and in K-8 changes in the location of classroom activities (3-5). After describing the findings represented in each diagram, the findings will be discussed.

THE EVOLVEMENT OF CLASSROOM AREAS ACROSS GRADES

IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES (Diagram 3-1)

From Kindergarten to grade 8, the classroom can be divided into four general areas (from both the student and teacher perspective). There is the recitation area, teacher

area, seatwork area, and "free" area. Each area is briefly described below.

Recitation Area. The names and extent of the recitation area evolved across grades K-8. In kindergarten the recitation area was called the circle area. In first grade, it was called reading group. In sixth grade, it was merely called reading instruction. Yet, the nature of the interaction between teacher and students (e.g., turn-taking protocols) within these areas was remarkably stable across grades.

In the kindergarten, the room was divided into four areas (see Diagram 3-6): circle area, teacher area, seatwork area, and free (or play) area. In the circle area, the teacher would instruct students in the day's lesson (e.g., recognizing letters). The teacher would present a text (e.g., a song, a picture card, a story) or assume the presence of a text (e.g., student names, the calendar on the wall, a story told the day before). Texts were presented either within the interactional frame of teacher-initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (cf., Mehan, 1979) or within a separate component (e.g., teacher lecture or narration of a story) preceding the interactional frame of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (e.g., the teacher would present the words to a song while the students listened and then the teacher would initiate interaction with the students that called for student response). The required student response to almost all teacher initiations involved text reproduction (cf., Bloome, 1983;

Bloome & Arguedo, 1983). Students were required to reproduce all or parts of the presented text. Students would sing the song, tell what happened in the story (in the same words in which it was told), identify a name from a list (e.g., point to the name of the month on the calendar).

During circle time, students were seated in a circle. They were not allowed to talk with each other. Turn-taking was strictly controlled by the teacher. Students could gain a turn at talk by bidding for turns from the teacher or by getting called on by the teacher. Students had to continuously demonstrate group membership and participation in circle time through their postural configurations (e.g., sitting up) and eye gaze direction (e.g., looking at the teacher). That is, students had to continuously signal that they were appropriately following the teacher. Student interaction with the text was in 'lock step' fashion. Everyone was interacting with the same text in the same way at the same time.

In first grade, reading groups were interactionally organized the same as circle time in kindergarten. That is, the participation structures (cf., Shultz, Erickson & Florio, 1982) were the same. Students sat in a circle. The teacher strictly controlled the turn-taking. Texts were presented either within the interactional frame of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (cf., Mehan, 1979) or within a separate component (e.g., teacher rendition of the text or of vocabulary) preceding the interactional frame of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation (cf., Heap, 1983). Students

interacted with the same text in the same way at the same time. Students had to continuously signal their appropriate participation through their postural configuration, eye gaze, and verbal responses. And like circle time, student responses were predominately based on text reproduction (cf., Bloome & Arguenedo, in press).

There are, of course, differences between kindergarten circle time and reading group in the first grade. Circle time involves the whole class. Reading group may involve three to fifteen students. During circle time, students sit on the floor while during reading group they usually sit in chairs. In reading group, students have a shared written text while the texts presented during kindergarten circle time were both written and oral texts. As one would expect, the formal, written curricular goals for kindergarten circle time and first grade reading group differed. However, differences in prescribed goals do not necessarily result in differences in the nature of student-teacher-text interaction across grades. (As McDermott, 1976; Collins, 1981; Allington, 1981; Barr, 1983; among others, have pointed out differences in teacher-student interaction and curricular content coverage within reading groups seen related to whether one is in the high or low reading group rather than grade level. In this study, differences between high and low reading groups primarily involved context coverage. This may be due to school-wide constraints on implementation of the basal reading program and the small number of students placed in the top reading group -- e.g., only three

students in the first grade). In sum, differences between circle time and reading group do not negate the similarities which dominate teacher-student-text interaction.

The nature of teacher-student-text interaction during reading group remains remarkably constant throughout first through fifth grade. One exception is the degree to which the text is presented within the reading group. As students progress from first to fifth grade, the text is increasingly presented outside of the reading group. That is, teachers will assign a story to be read silently before reading group begins. It should be noted that from the end of kindergarten through grade six, both basal stories and workbook pages are used as texts within reading group.

In the Nortown Middle school, reading instruction is primarily the responsibility of the English teacher who is also responsible for composition, grammar, and literature (except for remedial and corrective reading instruction which is the responsibility of the Title 1 or Chapter 3 reading teacher). Unlike elementary school, reading groups do not involve a separate or special location in the middle school classroom. For example, the sixth grade class was divided into two reading groups. One group has assigned desks on the right, the other group on the left. Students do not move from these desks in order to participate in any instructional activities. That is, the teacher instructs half the class while the other half was busy with seatwork. Indeed, as seating changes were made for management purposes, students in the high reading group may be

seated in the portion of the room for the low reading group.

Despite not having a special location for reading group instruction, the nature of teacher-student, student-student and student-text interaction was consistent with that occurring in the elementary school. That is, the participation structures (e.g., turn-taking protocols) were the same. The teacher strictly controlled the turn-taking. Texts were presented either within the interactional frame of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation or within a separate component (e.g., teacher rendition of the text or of vocabulary) preceding the interactional frame of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation. Students interacted with the same text in the same way at the same time. Students had to continuously signal their appropriate participation through their postural configuration, eye gaze, and verbal responses. And like circle time and elementary reading groups, student responses were predominately based on text reproduction.

Interestingly, although the mandated reading program in Bigtown Schools was not a basal series but a mastery skills program, reading instruction in grades six, seven and eight was similar to reading instruction in Nortown Middle School. Texts were presented within the same interactional frames; student response was primarily based on text reproduction, turn-taking protocols were the same, students interacted with the same text in the same manner at the same time, and although students were divided into reading groups they sat at their desks for reading instruction.

The only substantive difference was the text used in the two schools. Nortown Middle School used both basal stories and worksheets; Bigtown School used short, skill exercises. However, a closer look at reading instruction texts and materials in Nortown School showed that frequently basal texts were reduced to skill exercises through the juxtaposition of worksheets or exercises contained within the basal text. In sum, the differences between the texts used in the two schools were surface level differences.

Seatwork Area. A distinction needs to be made between seatwork and work students do at their seats. Students may do many things at their desks. They may work together on an art project, organize a dramatic presentation, or eat lunch. However, seatwork refers only to those instructional activities which students do alone at their desks. Regardless of grade level, during class students are frequently required to work quietly and independently on academic tasks. Indeed, instructional designs often require a 'seatwork' time. For example, direct instruction models require that students 'practice' what is presented.

In looking across grades kindergarten through eight, the area of the classroom used for seatwork increased from approximately one-third of the classroom to nearly all of the classroom (see diagrams 3-6, 3-7, and 3-8).

In the kindergarten, seatwork was confined to tables and chairs within one area of the classroom. After circle time,

Students would be given seatwork activities based on the academic content of circle time. For example, during circle time student names might be discussed. For seatwork, students would be assigned to copy their names five times. In the kindergarten, students sat at tables for seatwork; -- four students to a table. Although each student has his/her own pencil and worksheet, they would share a bowl of crayons and an eraser.

In first grade, seatwork area involved two-thirds or more of the classroom area. Students sat at tables, but the tables were arranged so that the students sat in four long rows (see diagram 3-7). Seatwork tasks were presented at the beginning of class. Students worked independently on the seatwork tasks while the teacher conducted reading groups. Occasionally, either the teacher or an aide would monitor student work. Each student had his/her own pencil, worksheet, and/or workbook. Crayons and other supplies were obtained from a common supply source (e.g., the can of crayons on the teacher's desk). That is, a group of students did not share a set of crayons but rather each student individually took what was needed from a common supply and returned the material after the student was finished with it.

From second grade until fifth grade, the seatwork area consumed at least two-thirds of the classroom area. A major difference between grades two through five and first grade is that in first grade students sat at tables while from grade two on students sat at individual desks. Otherwise, the nature of

the seatwork area was consistent across grades first through five.

In Nortown Middle School, the seatwork area consumed nearly all of the classroom area (see Diagram 3-8). One difference was the absence of a classroom set of special supplies for common use. For example, there was no can of crayons on the teacher's desk that students could use. Special supplies were available as class sets (e.g., a class set of dictionaries) or were meant to be used as class sets (e.g., only 20 dictionaries for 38 students). A second difference between seatwork in the middle school and in the elementary school was that in middle school, everyone did the same seatwork at the same time. In elementary school, students were typically given a list of assignments to complete. Students completed the assignments at their individual paces, moving on to the next assignment when individually ready.

The evolution of the seatwork area needs to be viewed with constraints placed upon the classrooms. First, from kindergarten to grade eight, the size of the classroom became smaller (especially considering the increasing size of students and furniture). Second, class enrollment increased. And third, in the Nortown Middle School, teachers saw students for 40 minute periods rather than all day. These constraints are mentioned to provide a broader picture of the evolution of seatwork area.

Free or "Play" Area. In the kindergarten, an area is designed for 'free play' (see Diagram 3-6). In this area are a collection of dolls, a play stove and sink, a small climber, plastic people, a shopping chart, and similar items. While the area does have a pedagogical purpose (e.g., providing a place for students to practice using language and for role playing social relationships), no direction is given regarding how students must use the area. Students are free to play as they see fit (within limits -- e.g., they cannot hit each other). The classroom play area differs from the recess area. The recess area is outside and primarily structured for physical exercise and movement. When the weather forces recess inside, the kindergarten class would find an open area in the school and engage in physical exercise.

In first grade, there is no in class free play area. Students go outside for recess, and free play. In first grade, when students are given free time in class, they are expected to read their library books, draw a picture, or engage in a similar individual activity at their desks. The changes in free play area from kindergarten to first grade remain constant until students go to middle school.

In middle school, student 'free' areas are the halls, cafeteria, and bathrooms. That is, the free time given to students is the time for passing from one class to another or for eating lunch. However, even these activities are constrained. During hall passing, students have a limited time to get to their lockers, bathrooms, and to class. Who they talk

with is severely limited by these constraints. Physical exercise and movement occurs through supervised activity in physical education classes. That is, what was recess in the elementary school becomes physical education class in the middle school. Students who go outside on their own to play (e.g., play basketball) do so illegally.

As far as access to reading and writing resources is concerned, the evolution of 'free' area should be seen as student access to opportunities for language play. That is, given language play as one educational function of 'free' play, the K-8 evolution of 'free' area should be viewed in terms of what opportunities students get to use language, both written and oral. The evolution of 'free' area and reading and writing resources is discussed in greater detail in a later section in this chapter.

Teacher Area. The teacher area is simply that area reserved for the teacher and/or teacher aide. The teacher area may consist of the teacher's desk, files, bookshelf, closet, bulletin board, etc.

As shown in diagrams 3-6 and 3-7, in kindergarten and first grade, the teacher area was extensive. It consisted of several tables, chairs, bulletin boards, and files. Students had access to resources at the perimeter of the teacher area. That is, if a student needed a marker or crayon, the student could get it if it was on the perimeter of the teacher area. Elementary teachers tended to locate available resources on the

perimeter. That is, both teachers and students used the boundary of the teacher area as a marker of available materials. When students needed to get materials from within the teacher area (e.g., materials in a box located at the other side of the teacher's desk) students asked for permission. Rarely were students denied the materials that asked for. However, teachers were as likely to get the requested material for the student as to allow the student to get the material him or herself. (When asked about getting materials from within the teacher's area, teachers mentioned several reasons why they might get the material for the student rather than allow the student to get it. First, they felt the student would not be able to find the material. Second, there were materials that the teacher did not want the student to 'mess up.' Or third, there were materials that the teacher did not want the student to see; -- e.g., a grading book).

From kindergarten to grade 8, the teacher area became increasingly smaller (for example, compare the kindergarten teacher area -- diagram 3-6 -- with the teacher area in grade six -- diagram 3-8). Naturally, the perimeter of the teacher area also became smaller and thus the area of the teacher's area to which students had access became increasingly smaller.

LOCATION OF PHYSICAL READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

The findings reported here are summarized in diagrams

3-2 and 3-3 and focus on the primary and secondary location of physical reading and writing resources such as pencils, paper, and textbooks. Four general locations were identified: (a) the teacher had and distributed resources, (b) a group of students (e.g., students sitting at a table) had a common set of resources, (c) each student had their own resources and located them in their individual desk, and (d) each student had their own resources and carried the resources on their own person (e.g., they brought the resources into the classroom and took the resources with them when they left). While there were traces of all four general locations across all grade levels, the dominant location of resources evolved across grade levels. As shown in Figure 3-2, the primary locations of physical resources in kindergarten and the lower elementary grades were the teacher and the group. The teacher had paper and pencils. The teacher distributed the resources to students. There were also sets of common resources. Crayons would be placed in the center of the table for all students to use. Paste would be placed among several students. Scissors would be stored in a common place. Starting in second grade, the primary location of physical resources began to move to individual student desks. Students stored worksheets, crayons, pencils, and books in their own desks. As students progressed to the middle school, they were no longer able to store materials in their desks. Desks were not assigned to individuals but to several students who used the desk over the seven periods of the day. What resources were stored in the desk were generic resources belonging to the

school (e.g., dictionaries and/or grammar books). Students were expected to bring all needed resources with them to class. Students stored their resources in the lockers or on themselves.

Interestingly, as early as first grade some students were bringing their own resources to school every day in a manner similar to middle school students. That is, they daily brought their own resources into class and at the end of class they took them out of class. For the most part, these students were the better students. (It is important to note that at the beginning of the school year many students carried supplies to and from school. However, as the year progressed, the number of students who did so diminished). As students progressed through the grades, a greater proportion of students 'located physical resources on themselves.' (To some extent, the 'locating of resources on oneself' may be related to sex roles; -- see Chapter 8 for description).

The secondary location of physical resources refers to where one goes if one doesn't have needed resources, like a pencil. For example, where is a student most likely to go if his paper tears and another sheet is needed. Across all grades, the teacher is a likely source. Even in middle school, students will solicit pencils, paper, and books from the teacher. A difference between lower elementary school and middle school is that in the early grades students are not likely to solicit resources from any other source other than the teacher while as students progress through grade levels they become more likely

to seek resources other places as well. Besides the teacher, other secondary sources include classroom storage (students help themselves), peers, and the school store. As students progress through the grades, peers and purchasing items in school become more important and frequent secondary locations of pencils, paper, and textbooks.

When discussing secondary locations of physical resources it is important to note the need for secondary resources. That is, secondary locations only get used when primary locations do not fulfill student needs. Also, students may make use of secondary locations without needing a secondary location. For example, a female student who already has a pencil and sufficient paper may still purchase an extra pencil at the school store. Such a use of a secondary location is very different from the student who seeks pencil from a secondary location because he or she does not have one. As suggested in Chapter 8, although both male and female students used secondary locations of physical resources, male students more frequently than female students went to secondary locations because they did not have a needed resource.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LOCATION OF LINGUISTIC TASK FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

As discussed earlier, linguistic task framework resources constrain how a student uses physical resources such as a pencil and paper. Constraints can be great (such as a multiple choice question test) or constraints can be limited

(such as in writing a creative narrative). In order to appropriately participate in class lessons, students need to know what the constraints are and they need to know where to get the constraints. In this section, the focus is on 'where to go to get the constraints.'

From classroom observations, collection of student work, and student interviews, six potential locations of linguistic task framework resources emerged: (1) the teacher, (2) the blackboard, (3) worksheets, (4) textbooks, (5) the student (self) and (6) peers. The last two categories did not actually emerge from data collection but are added because of their notable absence. That is, while there were occasions when the primary or secondary location of a linguistic task framework resource was the student or peers (e.g., such as occurs in a creative project) these occasions were extremely rare and were not mentioned by students in discussing 'typical' daily classroom activities.

As shown in Figure 3-4, across grades the teacher is a dominant location of the linguistic task framework. Through teacher directions, responses to student questions, monitoring of student work, and individual assistance the teacher communicates the linguistic task framework.

It might be argued that the teacher is still the provider of the linguistic task framework when the location of the linguistic task framework is the blackboard or worksheets. However, interviews with students suggested that students do not see the situation that way (for them the linguistic constraints

come from the blackboard or worksheet, not the teacher) and teachers were not readily able to control blackboard and worksheet assignments (worksheets were provided through the mandated reading program and blackboard assignments were often subtly mandated through teacher and curriculum guides).

The pattern that emerges from looking at the location of linguistic task framework resources across grades is the stability of the blackboard, worksheet and teacher as primary locations. There is little change over the grades. Even in the reading of textbooks, linguistic task framework resources are primarily located outside of the textbook in a worksheet or teacher who prescribes the linguistic task framework within which the textbook is to be read (e.g., whether to read aloud, to answer questions, to outline, etc.), interpreted (e.g., what set of knowledge is to be used in understanding the text) and used (e.g., what questions to answer).

ACTIVITY LOCATION ACROSS GRADES

A distinction needs to be made between the physical location of an activity and the interpersonal context of an activity. A physical location may signal an interpersonal context, but interpersonal contexts are structured by what people do in conjunction with each other (cf., Erickson & Shultz, 1981). Interpersonal contexts have been described at many levels. Researchers have shown that merely because two lessons occur within the same physical location (e.g., in the back corner) or even under the same rubric (e.g., basal reading

group lesson), they may be extremely different in both substance and form. Thus, discussing the location of classroom activity becomes extremely complex.

In this section, the location of classroom activities is glossed in the general terms used by students and teachers describing what is done and where it is done. The areas refer simultaneously to both physical locations and to group configurations. For example, 'circle area' (also called reading group) in elementary classrooms is typically a separate physical area in which a small group of students interacts with the teacher. Students and teacher form a circle, separating themselves from the rest of the class. While not denying differences in turn-taking protocols across circle time lessons within and across grades, circle time is a recognizable social/physical entity within the elementary classroom.

Diagram 3-5 shows the change and stability of the location of classroom activities across grades. As shown in Diagram 3-5, across grades, the location changes for textbook reading, recreational book selection, recreational reading, play, bathroom activity, official student talk, teacher questions about a shared text, teacher lecture / direct instruction, attendance etc. activities, and blackboard activity. The only activity whose location remains constant across grades is worksheet activity.

While many of the changes in location of classroom activity seem obvious and self-explanatory (e.g., attendance occurring in middle school homerooms), the changes themselves

reflect subtle changes in interpersonal and academic/instructional organization. For example, blackboard activity, direct instruction, teacher questions about a shared text, official student talk, and textbook reading all evolve from a group context (demonstrated by a circle formation signalling the exclusion of outsiders) to a whole-class activity where students sit in rows and columns. Bathroom activity, play activity, recreational reading, recreational book selection, and attendance etc. activity, all evolve from a classroom location to a non-classroom location. The implications of these changes and of the findings described in the other sections in this chapter will be discussed below.

IMPLICATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Two basic themes are apparent in the findings reported in this chapter. The first theme is of increasing individual responsibility. As students progress from kindergarten to grade 3, the location of physical reading and writing resources increasingly becomes the individual student. That is, the location of pens, paper and textbooks moves from the classroom to the student. Even secondary sources for pens, paper and textbooks show increasing individual responsibility (e.g., in the middle school purchasing materials from the school store). There increasing individual student responsibility for physical reading and writing resources.

A second theme involves control. As students progress

from kindergarten through grade 8, the location of linguistic task framework resources remains with the teacher and curriculum materials (e.g., worksheets). In brief, across K-8, the school system maintains control of what students do with the physical reading and writing resources. There is no increase in locating linguistic task frameworks resources with students.

The two themes seem inherently contradictory. As a student becomes increasingly responsible for physical reading and writing resources, there is no increase in student responsibility for linguistic task framework resources. The manifestation of the two themes is symbolized through changes in classroom space and use across grades. As students progress from kindergarten to grade 8, seatwork area (with individual desks in columns and rows) increases, play area moves outside the classroom, and official student talk moves from a small group area to whole-class seatwork area. Students increasingly sit, talk, and work as individuals. However, the impetus of the increasing individualism is towards conformity. That is, though students have increasing individual responsibility, part of that responsibility involves doing what all others are doing as established by the teacher and the curriculum materials.

Based on the findings in this chapter, several questions can be asked about the location of reading and writing resources and reading and writing development and achievement.

1. To what extent does the continued location of linguistic task framework resources away from the student affect student reading and writing development and achievement?

especially development and achievement associated with critical thinking and written language skills, strategies and abilities?

2. To what extent is the increasing location of physical reading and writing resources with individual students related to reading and writing development? That is, what -- if any -- role does the location of physical reading and writing resources play in reading and writing development? In who does or does not get access to reading and writing learning opportunities in classrooms? In the short-term? In the long-term?

3. What variation in the location of reading and writing resources exists across schools? across economic and cultural groups?

4. To what extent is it possible to locate reading and writing resources (both physical and linguistic task framework) other than what has been described? That is, although there may be individual variations within some classrooms, and although there may be some variation among schools, in general, to what extent do school and schooling constraints inhibit alternative locations of reading and writing resources?

THE EVOLVEMENT OF CLASSROOM AREAS ACROSS GRADES
IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES

Kindergarten

Early Elem.

Upper Elem.

Middle School

circle area ---- reading group----- whole class dir. instr.

----- teacher area becomes smaller & increasingly restricted -----

----- seatwork area from 1/3 to 2/3 to 3/3 of classroom space -----

----- free area moves outside to gym and hallways -----

Diagram 3-1

PRIMARY LOCATION OF PENCILS, PAPER, TEXTBOOKS ACROSS GRADES

Kindergarten Lower Elem. Upper Elem. Middle School

Teacher XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Group XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Desk XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Self XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Diagram 3-2

Kindergarten	Lower Elem.	Upper Elem.	Middle School
1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9
10	10	10	10
11	11	11	11
12	12	12	12
13	13	13	13
14	14	14	14
15	15	15	15
16	16	16	16
17	17	17	17
18	18	18	18
19	19	19	19
20	20	20	20
21	21	21	21
22	22	22	22
23	23	23	23
24	24	24	24
25	25	25	25
26	26	26	26
27	27	27	27
28	28	28	28
29	29	29	29
30	30	30	30
31	31	31	31
32	32	32	32
33	33	33	33
34	34	34	34
35	35	35	35
36	36	36	36
37	37	37	37
38	38	38	38
39	39	39	39
40	40	40	40
41	41	41	41
42	42	42	42
43	43	43	43
44	44	44	44
45	45	45	45
46	46	46	46
47	47	47	47
48	48	48	48
49	49	49	49
50	50	50	50
51	51	51	51
52	52	52	52
53	53	53	53
54	54	54	54
55	55	55	55
56	56	56	56
57	57	57	57
58	58	58	58
59	59	59	59
60	60	60	60
61	61	61	61
62	62	62	62
63	63	63	63
64	64	64	64
65	65	65	65
66	66	66	66
67	67	67	67
68	68	68	68
69	69	69	69
70	70	70	70
71	71	71	71
72	72	72	72
73	73	73	73
74	74	74	74
75	75	75	75
76	76	76	76
77	77	77	77
78	78	78	78
79	79	79	79
80	80	80	80
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86	86	86	86
87	87	87	87
88	88	88	88
89	89	89	89
90	90	90	90
91	91	91	91
92	92	92	92
93	93	93	93
94	94	94	94
95	95	95	95
96	96	96	96
97	97	97	97
98	98	98	98
99	99	99	99
100	100	100	100

Purchase in Class or School (e.g., School Store)	XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
--	----------------

Diagram 3-3

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LOCATION OF LINGUISTIC TASK FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

XXXXXX = Primary

oooooo = Secondary

Kindergarten Lower Elem. Upper Elem. Middle School

Teacher XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXoooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

Blackboard XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Worksheet XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Textbook ooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

Student(self)

Peers

Diagram 3-4

ACTIVITY LOCATION ACROSS GRADES

	Kindergarten	Lower Elem.	Upper Elem.	Middle School
Worksheet Activity	Seatwork Area-----Seatwork Area			
Blackboard Activity	Tables/Groups-----Desks/Individuals -----			
Attendance Lunch Money ETC	Circle Area -- Seatwork Area ----- Homeroom			
Teacher Lecture/ Direct Instruction	Circle Area ----- Circle/Seatwork-----Seatwork Area			
Teacher Questions About A Shared Text (other than Management Q's)	Circle Area -----Seatwork Area			
Official Student Talk (e.g., in response to teacher questions)	Circle ----- Circle/Seatwork -- Seatwork			
Textbook Reading by Students	Circle Area-----Circle/Seatwork ---Seatwork/Home --			
Recreational Book Selection	Teacher Area ----- Classroom Storage ----- None Weekly Library Visit ----- Occ. Library Visit			
Recreational Reading	Free Time -- Free Time/Seatwork ---- Free Time/Home			
Play	Play Area -- Gym----- Outside -----Hallways Lunch -----			
Bathrooms	In Class -- Scheduled Trips ----- Hallways (Passes Granted As Needed)			

Diagram 3-5

CHAPTER 4 - - READING AND WRITING LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

The purpose of this chapter is to present findings on the nature and use of linguistic task framework resources across grades kindergarten through eight. Linguistic task framework resources are perhaps best viewed as a set of constraints on what is to read or written and how something is to be read or written. For example, consider a classroom of students who have just been given paper and pencils. Except on rare occasions, students are not free to do what they would like with the paper and pencils. The teacher may tell them what to do with the paper and pencil. Often, what students should do with paper and pencil is implied in the worksheet they are given or in the assignment presented on the blackboard. What students are "told" to do with the pencil and paper can be viewed as constraints since the writing students do will be constrained by the task. However, these constraints can also be viewed as resources. That is, the constraints help guide students to the appropriate completion of reading and writing tasks. The constraints presented to students can also be viewed as resources because in accomplishing a reading and/or writing task, what students do builds on these constraints. As such, constraints are resources to be employed in accomplishing classroom tasks.

As students write they do, of course, draw on their own knowledge in order to read and/or write. The knowledge,

strategies, and 'schemas' that students bring to the reading and/or writing task are important factors in how well students are able to use the linguistic task framework resources available and to accomplish the classroom task. In looking at student reading and writing it is important to consider what students 'bring' to reading and writing situations as well as the nature of the reading and writing situations themselves. Linguistic task framework resources are only one dimension of reading and writing situations. Thus, there are limitations on what analysis of linguistic task framework resources can say about what students read and write. What analysis of linguistic task framework resources can do is to describe an important aspect of the reading and writing situations in which students are involved in classrooms, and, it can help illuminate factors involved in school-based reading and writing performance and development.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

As stated in the Introduction, each chapter is written so that it can be read independently of other chapters in the report. The overview of the study presented below is a repetition of the overview presented in Chapters 3 through 7. It is meant to assist those readers who have not read Chapter 1 nor the overviews presented in other chapters. Readers who have read Chapter 1 and/or the overviews presented in other chapters should feel free to skip the overview presented here.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the research are described in detail in Chapter 1. Briefly, there are three main theoretical constructs: (1) reading and writing are not only cognitive-linguistic processes but are also social-communicative processes requiring that reading and writing be viewed as contextuated activities, (2) reading and writing resources are defined socially, and (3) reading and writing resources are "tools" and like any set of "tools," the nature of the "tools" influences what the tool-user does. These three constructs are briefly discussed below.

Reading and Writing as Contextuated Activities. Recent research has shown that reading and writing are influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and at the same time reading and writing are part of the processes involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people (see Bloome & Green, 1982; Bloome & Green, 1984). That is, the interpersonal contexts in which reading and writing take place influence the cognitive-linguistic nature of reading and writing while at the same time reading and writing are used to shape interpersonal relationships. Thus, the social-communicative contexts of reading and writing become important not only as background to reading and writing processes but also as the foreground as well.

The result of viewing reading and writing as contextuated processes is at least twofold. First, questions

are raised about similarities and differences in the nature of reading and writing across contexts. Such questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence alluded to above. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that can capture the contexts of reading and writing and provide a means for comparison. Such an approach is more dialectical than cumulative.

Reading and Writing Resources Are Defined Socially. In order to engage in reading and writing, students need appropriate resources; -- both physical resources and linguistic task framework resources. Gaining access to those resources is a social process. That is, who gets what resources when, where, and how is determined through teacher-student and student-student interaction. Students may fail to gain access because they lack the needed communicative competence or they may fail to gain access because others are denying access to them.

Students can gain access only to those resources present. What resources are available is also socially determined. That is, what resources are to be made available to one group of students versus another is explicitly or implicitly a social decision involving relationships between people.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only

pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

Reading and Writing Resources as Tools. People use tools and tools use people. For example, a factory worker using a drill on a production line is an appendage of the tool. The worker must meet the demands of the tool and production line. The tool uses the worker. However, at home the same factory worker may use a drill to make a toy. In that situation, the tool is an appendage of the worker and the tool can make no demands of the worker (the worker makes demands of the tool).

Another important aspect of the relationship between tools and people is how tools influence the framework with which people "see" the world. A person with a hammer may look at the world as a series of nails. Of course, having a tool or a set of tools does not necessitate "seeing" the world in terms of those tools, but is rather one of a number of subtle influences. Indeed, how people view what tools can do is also a social process. For example, a hammer could be used as a bookend. However, people do not tend to think of hammers as bookends. In other words, what tools can be used for is influenced by social processes, past experiences, and the frameworks that people have developed for the use of tools.

The concepts above about tools are also true about reading and writing resources. Students both use and get used

by reading/writing resources. Reading/writing resources influence how students "see" the world. And, the use of reading/writing resources is limited by the frameworks that students (and others) develop for their use.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

Detailed description of the research study is provided in Chapter 1. Data collection techniques included field notes, videotaping, audiotaping, photopgraphs, collection of samples of student work, and ethnographic interviewing. Data analysis involved three stages. First, general patterns and questions about the nature and use of reading/writing resources were generated. These general patterns and questions were based on previous research (see Introduction), on recurrent issues and patterns suggested by data collected from the field, and on participants' perspectives (as revealed through interviews and participant observation). Second, detailed descriptions were made of the use and nature of reading/writing resources pertinent to the general patterns and questions previously established. And finally third, detailed descriptions were shared with participating teachers who vailidated the descriptions (findings) as "accurate" from their perspectives.

Data on reading and writing resources were collected in 13 classrooms over an eight month period (the amount of time and period over which each classroom was studied varied; -- see Chapter 1 for details). In Nortown Eleemetary School one class at each grade, K to 5, was studied. At Nortown Middle School,

one English class at each grade, 6 to 8, was studied. At Bigtown School, one class at grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 was studied. Descriptions of the schools and the school communities can be found in Chapter 2.

FINDINGS ON LINGUISTIC TASK FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

The findings on linguistic task framework resources can be briefly summarized as follows.

1. The nature of the linguistic task framework resources dominant in classrooms remained constant across grades kindergarten through eight. There was little change across grades.
2. The nature of the linguistic task framework resources across grades kindergarten through eight primarily involved 'text reproduction' and/or 'cataloging.' Text reproduction is -- as its name implies -- the reproduction of text. The reproduction can occur orally or in writing. The oral rendition of text, copying, and tracing are all common examples of text reproduction. Cataloging involves the listing of items. Like a telephone book or Sears catalog, the listing of items is not only the dominant feature of the text but is itself the substance of the text. Common classroom examples of cataloging are spelling lists, vocabulary lists, and lists of things done over the Summer vacation.
3. The dominant linguistic task frameworks across grades kindergarten through eight eschewed production of connected discourse and primarily required short one-word or one-mark responses. Common classroom examples would be circling the correct answer on a worksheet, underlining the helping verb in a grammar exercise, and filling the blank in an isolated sentence.

The above findings will be illustrated by discussing samples of student work from across grades kindergarten through eight. The samples were chosen because they illustrate the

nature of the linguistic task framework resources. It is important to note that occasionally students would be involved in classroom tasks that did not involve text reproduction or cataloging. However, such occasions were infrequent and not characteristic of classroom reading or writing tasks. Indeed, many students interpreted all classroom tasks in terms of text reproduction and/or cataloging whether or not the task required such an interpretation.

It should also be mentioned that each classroom seemed to have a special activity or topic or theme that was, in nature, an exception to the typical classroom task. For example, in the second grade classroom the special topic was natural science. The teacher's background was in natural science. She brought in many animals. She lived next to a nature preserve and used those resources for her class. The teacher engaged students in discovery activities around the theme of natural science. Teacher-student conversations about natural science typically did not occur during set-aside instructional time but during breaks and transitions between activities or during non-instructional time (e.g., before school, lunch, recess). Teacher-student conversations were not characterized by teacher-question, student-response, and teacher evaluation but rather involved student questions and teacher responses. The prosodic quality of teacher-student conversations was different than other instructional conversations (e.g., not punctuated with timed stress marks). Such occasions happened infrequently and usually with a small number of students. For

other teachers, similar situations involved the theme of family and Latino culture (first grade), math (fifth grade), creative writing (fourth grade), among others. The topics of themes were those of importance and joy to the teachers both inside and outside of school. However, teacher-student interaction around these special themes and topics was very limited and did not constitute the instructional core the classrooms.

After presenting illustrations of linguistic task framework resources extant across grade kindergarten through eight, the findings will be discussed. What is important to note before presenting the examples below is that the similarities of the linguistic task framework resources across grades are at both the surface level and at deeper levels. For example, while copying as an overt procedure and framework resource reoccurs across grades, copying itself is only a surface level manifestation of text reproduction and is related to the memorization of lyrics and the oral rendition of text. That is, given the nature of copying as it occurred in classrooms -- which involved reproduction primarily or only for the sake of reproduction -- it can be viewed as similar to oral rendition done only for the sake of the oral reproduction of text. In both cases, the meaning of text is either peripheral or absent.

COPYING AND TRACING IN KINDERGARTEN

Diagrams 4-1, 4-2, 4-3 and 4-4 are related to representative linguistic task framework resources within the

kindergarten. Each is described below.

Copying Names. Diagram 4-1 shows Charles' attempt to copy his name. During circle time, the teacher had reviewed students' names. Students were asked to go to the bulletin board and point to the balloon with their name on it. At the end of circle time, the teacher held up a strip of paper on which was written one of the student's name. Students had to look at the name and if it was their name, they had to stand up and take the strip of paper. Once a student had a strip of paper with his/her name, the student went to the seatwork area with a blank sheet of paper. There the student copied his/her name five times. As shown in Diagram 4-1, some students would not copy the whole name each time but rather copied the first letter five times then the second letter five times, etc. When the teacher would notice a student copying the first letter five times and then the second letter, etc., she would stop the student and require the name to be written out fully each time. However, students were rarely caught.

The procedures and linguistic task framework resources described above in copying one's name were also used in copying last names, days of the week, months, seasons, the names of numbers (e.g., one, two), and holidays, among other items.

The clearest surface level examples of the recurrence of the copying procedures and framework in later grades (e.g., in middle school) were when students had to copy from a dictionary (either as a punishment or as an assignment), when students were

writing reports from encyclopedias or other reference books, or when students were copying a punishment statement (e.g., writing 100 times, 'I will not talk in class'). Students would copy without having any sense of what they were copying. Often they would leave out key words or phrases or whole lines. When feasible, students copied the first letter or word 100 times, then the second letter or word, etc. On punishment assignments, close friends would oftendivided up the task. One friend would take the first part of the punishment (e.g. 'I will not...') and the other friend would take the second part (e.g., 'talk in class').

Another surface level example of the recurrence of copying is when students copy each other's homework. Whether the copying is done in class or outside of class, student typically copy without attempting to understand what's written often leaving out key words, phrases, answers, numerals, etc.

Tracing Numbers. Tracing was related to copying. Often students traced a letter or number before they began copying that letter or number. For example, Diagrams 4-2 and 4-3, which are related, show the tracing of the numeral 6 followed by copying of numeral 6. Students reviewed the numbers with the teacher during circle time. At the end of circle time each student received a worksheet and then went to the seatwork area. Directions for completing the worksheet were given during circle time. A completed copy of the worksheet (done by the teacher's aide) was taped to the blackboard in the seatwork area so that

students could see what their sheets should look like. What is not shown in Diagrams 4-2 or 4-3 are the colors used. Occasionally -- and more frequently towards the end of the school year -- students were directed to use specific color crayons for different parts of the assignment. For example, in Diagram 4-3, the first row of 6's would be done in orange, the second in blue, the third in red, the fourth in green.

The clearest surface level examples of the recurrence of tracing procedures and linguistic task framework resources are during handwriting and cursive writing instruction. Students are given worksheets of letters to trace and then to copy.

Coloring. Frequently, as part of the seatwork assignment, students would be given a worksheet to color. Typically, the coloring worksheet would be related to the other seatwork assignments. When students studied the letter 'C' they colored a camel (Diagram 4-4). The directions for coloring involved when to color (after all the other seatwork had been finished), what color to color (oral directions were given and an example completed by the teacher's aide was taped to the blackboard as a model), and to stay within the lines.

At first, as researchers we overlooked coloring as a linguistic task framework resource. Coloring was simply viewed as a time-filler, as an exercise to improve eye-hand coordination and small motor development. While coloring may indeed be related to those purposes, observations of older elementary children suggested that coloring was a linguistic

task framework resource. In elementary school, students were always being told to write within the lines and -- as part of their weekly reading assessments -- to fill in the circles within the lines.

Summary. In kindergarten, text reproduction characterized the dominant linguistic task framework resource. Whether the language mode was oral or written, students were given a text and instructed to reproduce that text. There were few instances of text production (e.g., telling a story).

COPYING AND SHORT-ANSWER IN FIRST GRADE

Few worksheets were used in the first grade classroom. Students began the first book in their basal series and they began the accompanying workbook.

Classroom tasks, especially tasks for seatwork in the morning, were presented on the blackboard. For example, the teacher would tape a series of pictures on the blackboard. Next to each picture was printed a word with a letter omitted. Students were required to copy the word on large lined paper and then supply the missing letter. The location of the missing letter changed depending on the instructional goals (e.g., initial consonant, medial vowel, blends, etc.).

In addition to blackboard assignments, students also received handwriting booklets which required tracing and then copying. Students traced and copied letters, numbers, words, and sentences. Students worked on handwriting during the morning.

When students were provided worksheets, the worksheets were

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similar to blackboard assignments (see Diagram 4-5). Students were presented a picture and had to write the letter that represented that picture. A worksheet preferred by students involved coloring segmented parts of a letter (e.g., the two lines of an 'L' would be separated), cutting out the parts of the letter, and pasting the parts on another worksheet, as indicated, so that a complete letter was formed.

A different kind of worksheet was presented to students during reading group. Reading group worksheets varied in topic and goal (e.g., structural analysis of words to sequence of events) but were similar in procedures for completion. Students had to circle the correct answer, choose the correct letter of an answer, or draw lines between correct answers. During reading group, students were directed to orally render the text, to follow along while another student was orally rendering the text, complete as a group exercises matching vocabulary to pictures, and/or answer teacher questions about the story with the exact phrase from the text (see Bloome & Argumedo, 1983, for a fuller description of text reproduction during reading group instruction).

Summary. There is a great deal of similarity between the linguistic task framework resources provided in kindergarten and first grade. Though students provide short answers (e.g., the missing letter) the dominant activity during seatwork is copying, the dominant activity during reading group time is oral rendition of text. In both cases, models of the text are provided to students and students reproduce those models.

It is important to note that although students are not

given as many worksheets as in kindergarten, they are still provided essentially the same linguistic task framework resources and tasks.

COPYING, SHORT-ANSWER AND CATALOGING IN GRADE TWO

The nature of the linguistic task framework resources provided in grade are essentially the same as those of first grade. Students copy and provide short-answers. Like first grade, there are fewer worksheets than in kindergarten. However, workbooks and assignments provided on the blackboards provide tasks and linguistic task framework resources similar in nature to those provided on worksheets in kindergarten.

Copying. Each morning, assignments were written on the blackboard. Students had to copy the assignment on to their paper. Diagram 4-6 shows one student's efforts. The 10 sentences were written on the blackboard. In each sentence was a blank to be filled with a word from a list written at the bottom of the blackboard. Students copy the sentences, then they select the appropriate word from the blackboard list, and then fill in the blanks on their paper.

Students were also required to copy spelling lists and vocabulary lists. Diagram 4-7 is an example of a spelling list.

Short-Answer. In workbooks and on worksheets, students were required to provide short answers typically requiring circling. For example, Diagram 4-8 requires students to circle the pronoun referent. Diagram 4-8 requires students to circle the

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picture with the long 'i' sound.

Cataloging. In many ways, cataloging is similar to the listing/copying of spelling words discussed earlier. Cataloging is shown in Diagram 4-9. Students were required to write a composition beginning with the line "I wish I knew how to..." How students handled the assignment after the beginning line was only constrained by how they interpreted the task, the time provided (all morning), the physical resources available (a single sheet of paper was distributed for the assignment), and their own skills and abilities with written language. As shown in Diagram 4-9 and 4-10, the task was interpreted in terms of a catalog. In Diagram 4-9, the student lists all the things he wishes he knew how to do: fly, jump high, run fast, learn the times tables, learn how to swim, and go to the store by himself. He attempts a narrative near the end of the composition by listing what he would do after going to the store (come home and play outside). However, even the attempted narrative is merely a list of things to do. The student numbers each line of the composition in a manner similar to the numbering of exercise sentences on the blackboard (e.g., see Diagrams 4-6 and 4-7). The student finishes the composition at the end of the paper, stopping on the word 'and.' The student may have stopped because another sheet of paper was needed and in the attempt to get extra paper the student was distracted. There are other possible explanations. However, ending a composition at the bottom of the page is a consistent pattern across students and across grades. There is another example of cataloging in Diagram 4-10. Students were required to write a composition about a school-wide program

they attended. The core of the composition is a list of the animals seen in the movie. It is a catalog of animals. The style of the catalog contrasts sharply with the conversational style of the ending of the composition.

In part, the cataloging frame may be due to the title which predisposes one to make a list. Other sources of a predisposition for cataloging may involve the nature of previous assignments and resources available for written tasks. That is, in kindergarten, first and second grade, students are provided linguistic framework resources that emphasize listing (e.g., spelling lists, initial consonants) and repetition (e.g., copying a name several times, doing a similar task -- such as providing a missing letter -- over-and-over). However, the connection between the provision of certain types of linguistic task framework resources and the interpretation of a composition task as cataloging is -- at this point -- conjecture. The need for discussing cataloging at the second grade level is that from second grade on, cataloging reappears as what counts as composition (a detailed description of cataloging can be found in Bloome, in press).

THE CONTINUATION OF LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK RESOURCES IN THE THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH GRADE

There was little variation in the nature of linguistic task framework resources in the second, third, fourth and fifth grade. Copying questions from the blackboard or book (e.g., Diagram 4-11 and 4-12) continued to be a major seatwork task. Tracing and copying for cursive writing also occurred. Worksheets across

grades primarily required circling or underlining (e.g., Diagram 4-13). Worksheets that required fuller answers were often organized to restrict what could be written. For example, in Diagram 4-14, questions are asked about a story. Little space is left for student responses, restricting the kinds of answers students could give to short answers. A similar restriction is found in Diagram 4-15 which is a form to be completed for book reports.

As noted earlier, there are exceptions. For example, in the fourth grade (which is actually a fourth/fifth grade split), the teacher did not require students to copy the questions out of the book. Students needed to only write the answer. Also, students were occasionally asked to make up their own questions. Across grades, students were engaged in activities that went text reproduction and cataloging. However, such activities were not the dominant nor core activities of the class. (Two points should be made about tasks and linguistic framework resources which go beyond text reproduction and cataloging. First, that across grades students stated that -- while activities that went beyond text reproduction were fun -- that they did not really learn from them. Second, that there may be no connection between the frequency of these activities or students' evaluation of these activities and how much students learn from them. That is, no statement can be made here about the importance of such activities to reading and writing achievement based on the findings of this report. It is possible that although tasks and linguistic framework resources which eschew text reproduction occur infrequently, they may nonetheless useful for reading and writing achievement and

development).

COPYING, SHORT-ANSWER, AND CATALOGING IN THE MIDDLE SCHOOL

The nature of the dominant linguistic task framework resources extant in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade English classes is similar to that of earlier grades. Through eighth grade, students continued in the basal reading series begun in kindergarten. However, students did not receive workbooks. In considering the findings below it is important to remember that students only met 40 minutes per day in their English classes compared with spending most of the morning on reading and writing in elementary school classes.

Copying. Copying spelling lists, vocabulary lists and dictionary definitions were overt copying activities. On a few occasions students had to copy classroom rules (e.g., at the beginning of the school year). Less overt was the copying of sentences or paragraphs directly from a text in response to a written question. Unofficial copying involved copying homework from other students.

Short Answer. The number of worksheets students were given increased at the middle school level. There were commercial worksheets such as those that came with the basal reading series (e.g., Diagram 4-16) and teacher-made worksheets (e.g., Diagram 4-17). Worksheets required students to produce short answers. Either circling was required (e.g., Diagram 4-16) or little space was left for written answers (e.g., Diagram 4-17). Similar to

worksheets in earlier grades, questions and tasks primarily refer students to text contained either on the worksheet or in a specified text.

Cataloging. Compositions in the middle school tended to be characterized by cataloging. For example, in Diagram 4-18, the student first lists all the equipment needed for football and then lists all the positions. While Diagram 4-18 may be an extreme example, cataloging was a dominant mode of response to composition tasks (see note 1).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK RESOURCES ACROSS GRADES

As stated earlier, findings across grades show that linguistic task framework resources are characterized by text reproduction, short text based answers (eschewing interpretation and student background and cultural knowledge), and cataloging. Few opportunities were provided for student text production. The nature of linguistic task framework resources was consistent across grades with little variation or development.

Studies of teacher-student interaction during instruction in both lower elementary grades and middle school grades reveal parallel findings. Teacher-student-text interaction primarily involves text reproduction and procedural display (see Bloome & Argumedo, 1983; Bloome, 1984).

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The findings reported in this chapter suggest that the linguistic task framework resources for reading and writing instruction are not developmental and do not move towards mature reading and writing, independent reading and writing, reading and writing as 'whole' activities, nor reading and writing as functional, meaningful activities. The findings suggest that a limited set of linguistic task framework resources are offered across grades.

The findings do not suggest that the linguistic task framework resources offered stems primarily from teacher decision-making. In each classroom, teachers respond to immediate academic needs. These needs may be defined by explicit school goals (perhaps adopted from a basal reading series), testing (both pre-tests and upcoming achievement tests), and needs perceived by the teacher based on school goals and testing. Thus, an institutionally fostered view or perspective is promulgated.

In addition to institutional factors are historical factors. Students arrive in classrooms with a history of participation in classroom reading and writing tasks. They may demand that they be provided with linguistic task framework resources similar to those they have learned to use in previous grades. Teachers may find it difficult and disruptive to change the set of linguistic task framework resources available.

It is not suggested here that a direct connection can or should be made between the nature of linguistic task framework resources across grades and the nature of reading and writing development. There are too many factors involved in reading and

writing development to suggest a direct influence. However, if linguistic task framework resources are an important factor in classroom reading and writing instruction and if instruction (whether defined as direct instruction or as the provision of opportunities for engaging in reading and writing) is important to reading and writing development (cf., Vygotsky, 1962), then the nature of linguistic framework resources ACROSS GRADES becomes an important factor to examine.

Two of the difficulties in examining connections between the nature of linguistic framework resources across grades and reading and writing development are (1) the confounding of classroom factors, and (2) inappropriate measurements of reading and writing development. The use of a particular set of linguistic task framework resources may have more to do with classroom management, administrative monitoring, and teacher accountability than with reading and writing development. Changes in the set of linguistic framework resources extant across grades would result in changes in classroom management, administrative monitoring and teacher accountability, among other classroom processes. Thus, it would not be clear what factors are actually influencing reading and writing development. A second difficulty is inappropriate measures of reading and writing development. Typically, reading and writing development are measured through tests (whether individually or group administered). The problem with such measures is that they make no distinction between development and achievement, between learning and development, between acquisition and development. Further, no distinction is made among the various directions in which reading and writing development can take.

What is needed are close, in-depth studies of groups of students across grades that can capture the nature and use of linguistic framework resources within the constellation and inseparability of other factors related to reading and writing development. The people in the best position to conduct such studies are school personnel, especially teams of teacher-researchers.

However, changes in the set of linguistic task framework resources offered to students across grades may not have to wait for long-term studies. Teachers and other school personnel can examine the set of linguistic framework resources offered to their students (perhaps using the model proposed in this study), and with their knowledge of other classroom and reading/writing related factors, they should be able to make decisions about desired changes.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Diagram 4-19 shows a list of rules about paragraphs (copied from the blackboard) in the sixth grade class. Beneath the rules is the development of a paragraph through 'mapping' (also copied from the blackboard). What is important to note about the mapping is that it doesn't necessarily translate into paragraphs and compositions eschewing cataloging. When students develop 'maps' on their own, the spokes become a list of items rather concepts and attributes. When students translate from the 'map' to connected discourse, the composition becomes a catalog of the items on the spokes.

1. C h o n l e s

C h

C

C

Name

AIRCIA



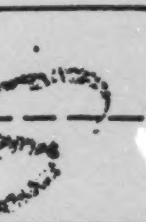
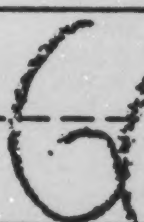
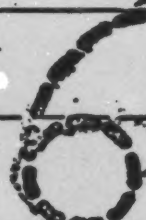
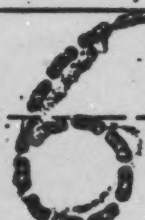
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Mr wood gave us a ride to school.

What should we make for dinner?

Let's go swimming in the lake.

This plate is for your bread.

What Size Shirt do you wear?

Maria ate five grapes.

This box weighs nine pounds.

We have not seen that movie.

Will you give me a pencil.

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cars

first

letter

map

most

road

same

stand

those

watched

① came

② five

③ gave

④ give

⑤ have

⑥ lake

⑦ like

⑧ live

⑨ make

⑩ nine

⑪ plate

⑫ size

⑬ wise

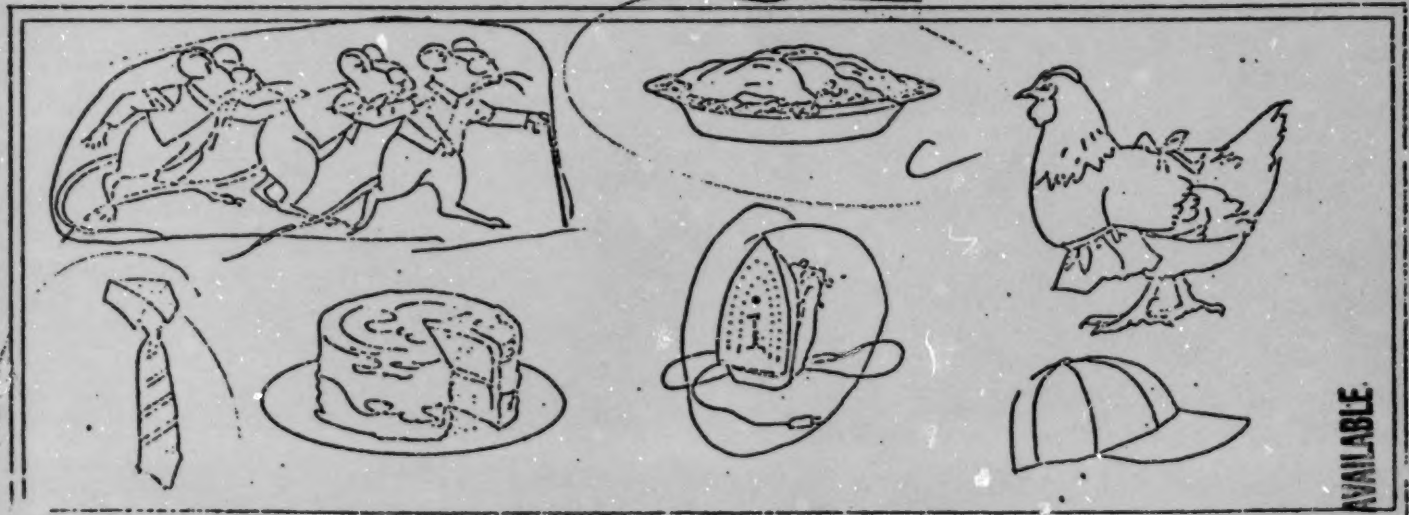
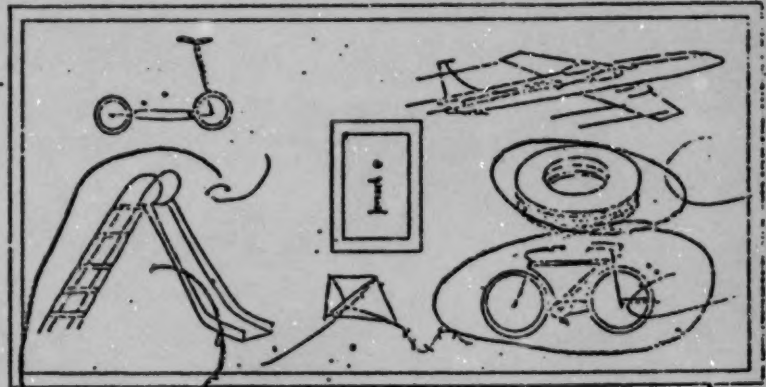
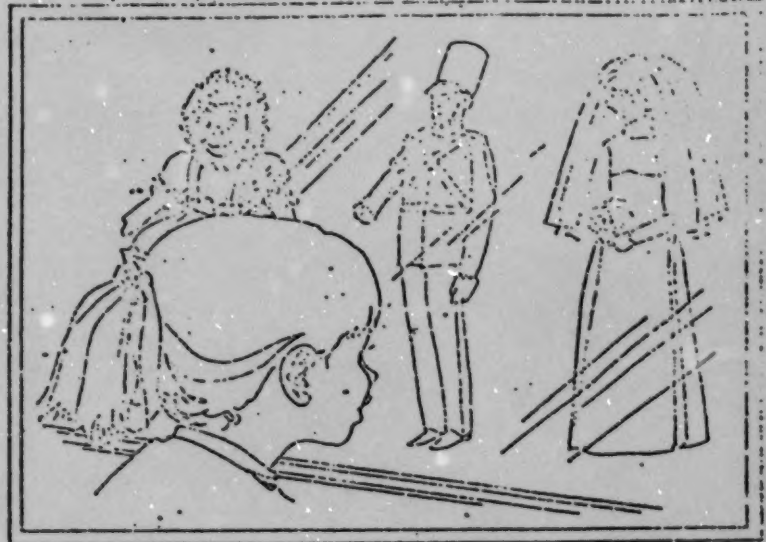
DIAGRAM 4-7 -- SPELLING LIST (GRADE TWO)

Name...

~~AG~~ A 10



ice
like
ride



Ike and Mike look alike.

- ① I Wish I knew how to
- ② Fly and Jump -
- ③ High and Run Fast - and
- ④ how to do time tables and
- ⑤ how to swim and
- ⑥ go to the store by
- ⑦ my self and the I will
- ⑧ by me some candy
- ⑨ and I will come
- ⑩ home and Play
- ⑪ Out Side and

1/2 went to a Program
we saw a movie.

I saw a well, star fish,
sharks, turtles, crabs, sea shells,
and more, I would like to
tell some more But I
have to go.

Thank you
By

Reading

DIAGRAM 4-11
COPYING (GRADE FOUR)

What was Betsy's plan to change the rule against pets? Her plan was to write out a petition.

How did other people in the project feel about the petition when they were asked to sign it? They felt very proud and very good.

What problem did the children have at the mayor's office that they did not expect? They did not expect the lady to yell at them or to have an appointment.

A large group of children went to see the mayor, but Betsy was the only one who spoke. What happened to the other children? They were too scared to speak and they left.

In the petition, Betsy said that the mayor owned a pet--a dog. Why was it a good idea to use that argument in a request to change the rule against project pets? Because if the mayor has a dog why can't they.

Mr. Witherspoon didn't know what the petition was about, but he wanted the children to leave. Why do you think he acted so unfriendly? He was so unfriendly because he might have a hard day or he is tired of looking at kids.

If someone hands you a petition and asked you to sign it, why do you think it's a good idea to read it carefully first? It's best to read it or you don't know what you are signing.

If you were Betsy, would you work to have the rule changed or just sneak the cat inside and hope you wouldn't get caught? I would work to get the rule changed. Why do you think it might be much more worthwhile in the long run to work to get the rule changed? Because if you get caught it would not be worthwhile.

Meaning
Three meanings are given below. Decide which
the word or words best fit the meaning.

1. A special drawing of the whole earth or part of
the earth. globe
2. The line on a map where water and land meet.
coastline
3. Lines, colors and shapes on maps that stand for
real things on earth. island
4. One name for the part of a map that explains
what its line, colors, shapes stand for.
land
5. Another name for the same part of the map.
key
6. The color blue water
7. A black outline coastline
8. Brown, bumpy areas Mountains
9. Green, flat areas land
10. Red dots coastline

PRE-ASSESSMENT TEST 34 THE COMMON ENDING *age*

• You should understand that when you come to a word you don't know, you can sometimes figure out what it is if you know about certain common endings.

In each sentence below, one word has been left out. One of the three words below that sentence belongs in the blank. Use what you know about the common ending *age* to help you figure out those three words. Put a line under the word that belongs in the sentence. The starred example has been done for you.

Possible Score	6
Critical Score	5
Pupil Score	
Plus (+) or Minus (—) Score	

★ It is a sign of good luck for people to throw rice after a _____ ceremony.

marriage postage drainage

1. For the ceremony, six proud horses were hitched to a golden _____.

wreckage damage carriage

2. Since our class began brushing with Candy Cane Toothpaste, we've had a bigger _____ of bad teeth.

percentage voyage garbage

3. Pack the suitcases neatly, and tie them to the _____ rack on top of my car.

courage luggage average

4. My little brother always wants a big _____ for every tiny cut he gets on his finger.

marriage breakage bandage

5. Greta loves to sneak through old houses and look for a secret _____ in the walls.

cabbage passage mileage

6. Everyone sang "Happy Birthday" while Sammy opened the _____ covered with bright paper.

shortage mileage package

A Secret For Two

1. For how many years had Pierre delivered milk to the people on Prince Edward Street ?
2. What reason did Pierre give for naming his horse Joseph ?
3. Why didn't Pierre use written orders and records ?
4. How old was Joseph when he died ? How does this age for horses compare with age for people ?
5. What was the secret that Pierre and Joseph had shared ?

For thirty years, Pierre Dupin had delivered _____ on _____ Street in Montreal, and for the last fifteen of those years, a white horse named _____ had pulled the milk _____. The two had _____ together for so long that _____ knew the route perfectly, and Pierre never had to _____ him. Although Pierre had been _____ a pensioned retirement, he had _____ it, begging to continue _____ until Joseph became too _____. Then one dark cold _____, Pierre was told that Joseph had died _____ the night. Brokenhearted, Pierre turned away and, not seeing a _____, _____ into its path and was killed _____. Afterwards, the ambulance doctor discovered that Pierre had been _____ for several years, a secret that only Pierre and his _____ had shared.

NAME _____

EVALUATION

Title of the book: _____

Author: _____

Illustrator: _____

Copyright: _____

Which medal did this book win? Caldecott Newbery
(circle one)

What year did this book win the award? _____

Why do you think this book deserves the award it won?

Why do you think the author wanted to write this book?

What did you enjoy the most about this book?

Would you recommend this book to a friend? yes no
Please explain your answer. (circle one)

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This is a teacher directed lesson. Directions may be found in *Reference Handbook for Impressions*.

Part A: Working Together

1. Tim's schoolbooks looked accusingly at him when he went outside to play.
2. The colors Samantha chose for the picture screamed at one another.

Things to remember about personification:

- You should understand that if you can determine what human qualities an author has given to something that is nonhuman, you will be able to picture that thing more vividly.

(1) Make sure you know what object or thing is being talked about as if it were a person.

(2) Decide in what particular way that object or thing is said to be like a person.

Part B: Checking What You Have Learned

1. The pine tree shivered as the cool wind blew across the meadow.
 - a. What is talked about as if it were a person? _____
 - b. What did it do that a person might do? _____
2. The sun played hide-and-seek in the clouds.
 - a. What is talked about as if it were a person? _____
 - b. What did it do that a person might do? _____
3. The cookie jar invited the children to have an after-school snack.
 - a. The cookie jar sent out invitations.
 - b. The cookie jar offered to share its cookies with the children.
 - c. The children remembered to have a snack when they saw the cookie jar.
4. History spoke to us about the colonists' fight for independence.
 - a. History gave a speech.
 - b. We learned about the colonists' fight for independence in history.
 - c. Independence and the colonists had a fight about history.
5. Fear tied giant knots in the pit of Alice's stomach.
 - a. The muscles of Alice's stomach became tense.
 - b. Alice had a rope around her waist.
 - c. Alice practiced tying square knots on her stomach.
6. Many scraps of paper were turning cartwheels on the lawn.
 - a. The papers told how to turn cartwheels.
 - b. The papers were doing stunts on the front lawn.
 - c. The papers were turning end over end across the lawn.

1. What job did Mr. Small have in their new town? _____
2. How did Thomas know that there were hidden rooms in the house? _____
3. What happened when Thomas pushed the small button near the front door? _____
4. Where did Thomas land when he fell? _____
5. How was he able to see? _____
6. What happened to his flashlight as he proceeded through the tunnel? _____
7. What caused Thomas to feel he was not alone? _____
8. What happened when Thomas pounded on the wooden wall at the end of the tunnel? _____
9. What did Mr. ~~XXXXXX~~ Small find in the tunnel? _____
10. "There'll be light coming from the veranda steps." What is a veranda? _____
11. What did Thomas fear would happen when THE THING in the tunnel caught him? _____
12. "The impact jarred him from head to foot." What is an impact? _____
13. What was Mr. Small's explanation of the purpose of the tunnel? _____
14. "It's not any fun," Thomas thought, "Not if he already knows about it."
a. Who is he? _____
b. What was it? _____
c. Why wasn't it any fun? _____

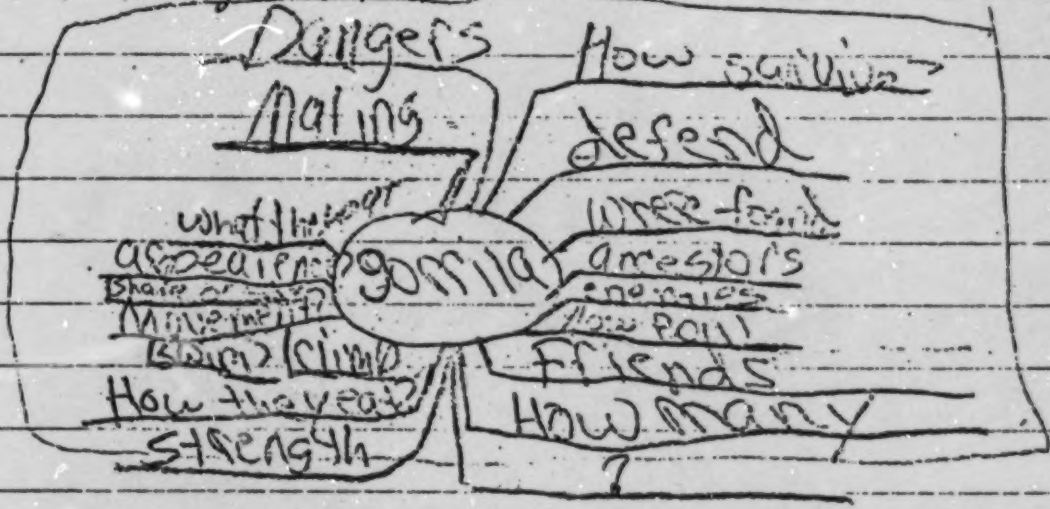
Football is a fun sport to play and you have to have the following equipment shoulder pads, knee pads, thigh pads, hip pads, helmet and fore arm pads. but in this sport it is possible to get hurt. These are the following places, Center, right guard, right tackle, right end, right wing, left guard, left tackle, left end, left wing, nose guard, defensive tackle, end guards and wings, full back, running back, half back and punters. 100 yard of each field goal, side lines & yard markers and that about football.

~~again~~

ways invent other 1st line
 "Re about 1st line 1st line
 2nd line 2nd line
 next, give to 3rd line
 4th line 4th line that has a
 subject and a predicate

c. a complete thought that makes
 sense.

4. Length of 4-8 sentences.



TYPED VERSION OF PARAGRAPH RULES FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Paragraph

1. Always indent only 1st line.
2. Talks about 1 main topic.
3. Is made up of sentences
 - a.) statement, question, command
 - b.) group of words that has a subject and predicate
 - c.) a complete thought that makes sense.
4. Length of 4-8 sentences.

DIAGRAM 4-19 CONTINUED

CHAPTER 5 -- ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe implicit economic philosophies underlying the distribution of reading and writing resources. For example, at Nortown Middle School, students could purchase pencils and notebook paper from the school store. The store sold pencils at ten cents each and notebook paper cost seventy-five cents for 65 sheets. The store also sold school T-shirts, school hats, erasers, book covers, and candy. Before school began, students would line up at the school store (which was a converted storage closet). The school used the profit made at the store to pay for extracurricular activities and for school equipment.

Although the store served both the needs of the school and of students, the distribution of reading and writing resources through the school store implies an economic philosophy. Namely, the distribution of reading and writing resources is based on ability to pay for those resources. Admittedly, the low cost of pencil and paper at the school store makes them available to all students. Yet, the fact that students had to purchase the supplies at all and the fact that the school provided a model of how supplies can be distributed (e.g., by having a school store), implies an economic philosophy inherent in the distribution and use of reading and writing

resources. Part of the inherent economic philosophy is that reading and writing resources are valued not only in what they can do (e.g., create a story, provide a means of communication), but also in terms of what they cost.

Across all grades the distribution of reading and writing resources was based on both explicit and implicit economic theories. For example, in one elementary classroom, students were restricted to getting one sheet of paper at a time. If a student needed an extra sheet of paper because the student was writing an extra long story, then the student was welcome to get one more sheet of paper. However, a student could not get a second sheet of paper before the first sheet had been completely filled. The teacher did not want students to waste the paper. Thus, although the paper was free, the way in which it was distributed presented to the students an economic model (e.g., reading and writing resources have an economic value in their own right therefore you must not waste them and you must justify your use of the resources).

In part, the economic philosophies inherent in the distribution of reading and writing resources derived from school district policies. The ways in which the school district allocated supplies to teachers influenced classroom economic philosophies. For example, erasers were not supplied by the school district. Whatever erasers existed in the class came from the teacher or from students. When a student wanted to use an eraser the student could borrow from the teacher but had to return it as soon as the student was finished with it. Thus,

because of economic considerations, a student was unlikely to be able to compose a writing assignment with an eraser handy. Whenever mistakes were made, whenever an eraser was needed, a student had to get up from the writing task and either search for a student from which to borrow an eraser or solicit an eraser from the teacher.

In this chapter, inherent economic philosophies are described across grades. The findings in this chapter need to be viewed as an initial attempt to uncover economic dimensions of reading and writing resources. The findings are limited to the sites studied and are limited by the lack of confirming or disconfirming evidence from the students. That is, although students were interviewed about the economics of gaining reading and writing resources, they were not capable of confirming or disconfirming an economic model. Instead, the economic model was inferred from how students gained access to reading and writing resources (which was validated through student interviews), and from teacher interviews.

The findings are divided into two sections: (1) student perspectives of classroom economic philosophies, and (2) teacher perspectives of classroom economic philosophies. The findings are presented after a brief overview of the larger study.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

As stated in the Introduction, each chapter is written so that it can be read independently of other chapters in the report. The overview of the study presented below is a

repetition of the overview presented in Chapters 3 through 7. It is meant to assist those readers who have not read Chapter 1 nor the overviews presented in other chapters. Readers who have read Chapter 1 and/or the overviews presented in other chapters should feel free to skip the overview presented here.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the research are described in detail in Chapter 1. Briefly, there are three main theoretical constructs: (1) reading and writing are not only cognitive-linguistic processes but are also social-communicative processes requiring that reading and writing be viewed as contextuated activities, (2) reading and writing resources are defined socially, and (3) reading and writing resources are "tools" and like any set of "tools," the nature of the "tools" influences what the tool-user does. These three constructs are briefly discussed below.

Reading and Writing as Contextuated Activities. Recent research has shown that reading and writing are influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and at the same time reading and writing are part of the processes involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people (see Bloome & Green, 1982; Bloome & Green, in press). That is, the interpersonal contexts in which reading and writing take place influence the cognitive-linguistic nature of reading and writing while at the same time reading and writing are used to shape

interpersonal relationships. Thus, the social-communicative contexts of reading and writing become important not only as background to reading and writing processes but also as the foreground as well.

The result of viewing reading and writing as contextuated processes is at least twofold. First, questions are raised about similarities and differences in the nature of reading and writing across contexts. Such questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence alluded to above. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that can capture the contexts of reading and writing and provide a means for comparison. Such an approach is more dialectical than cumulative.

Reading and Writing Resources Are Defined Socially. In order to engage in reading and writing, students need appropriate resources; -- both physical resources and linguistic task-framework resources. Gaining access to those resources is a social process. That is, who gets what resources when, where, and how is determined through teacher-student and student-student interaction. Students may fail to gain access because they lack the needed communicative competence or they may fail to gain access because others are denying access to them.

Students can gain access only to those resources present. What resources are available is also socially determined. That is, what resources are to be made available to one group of students versus another is explicitly or implicitly a social decision involving relationships between people.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

Reading and Writing Resources as Tools. People use tools and tools use people. For example, a factory worker using a drill on a production line is an appendage of the tool. The worker must meet the demands of the tool and production line. The tool uses the worker. However, at home the same factory worker may use a drill to make a toy. In that situation, the tool is an appendage of the worker and the tool can make no demands of the worker (the worker makes demands of the tool).

Another important aspect of the relationship between tools and people is how tools influence the framework with which people "see" the world. A person with a hammer may look at the world as a series of nails. Of course, having a tool or a set of tools does not necessitate "seeing" the world in terms of those tools, but is rather one of a number of subtle influences. Indeed, how people view what tools can do is also a social process. For example, a hammer could be used as a bookend.

However, people do not tend to think of hammers as bookends. In other words, what tools can be used for is influenced by social processes, past experiences, and the frameworks that people have developed for the use of tools.

The concepts above about tools are also true about reading and writing resources. Students both use and get used by reading/writing resources. Reading/writing resources influence how students "see" the world. And, the use of reading/writing resources is limited by the frameworks that students (and others) develop for their use.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

Detailed description of the research study is provided in Chapter 1. Data collection techniques included field notes, videotaping, audiotaping, photopgraphs, collection of samples of student work, and ethnographic interviewing. Data analysis involved three stages. First, general patterns and questions about the nature and use of reading/writing resources were generated. These general patterns and questions were based on previous research (see Introduction), on recurrent issues and patterns suggested by data collected from the field, and on participants' perspectives (as revealed through interviews and participant observation). Second, detailed descriptions were made of the use and nature of reading/writing resources pertinent to the general patterns and questions previously established. And finally third, detailed descriptions were shared with participating teachers who vailidated the

descriptions (findings) as "accurate" from their perspectives.

Data on reading and writing resources were collected in 13 classrooms over an eight month period (the amount of time and period over which each classroom was studied varied; -- see Chapter 1 for details). In Nortown Elementary School one class at each grade, K to 5, was studied. At Nortown Middle School, one English class at each grade, 6 to 8, was studied. At Bigtown School, one class at grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 were studied. Descriptions of the schools and the school communities can be found in Chapter 2.

In addition, data was collected from a reanalysis of videotapes, audiotapes, and field notes collected during an ethnographic study of junior high school student reading and writing conducted during 1979-1980 (see Bloome, 1980; Bloome & Green, 1982).

CLASSROOM ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES: STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

At the beginning of the study there was no intent to explore the economic dimensions of reading and writing resources. However, as investigation proceeded, economic considerations continued to emerge. Teachers told the researchers that school district economic policies hindered their reading and writing programs (e.g., through the absence of erasers) and that they had to supply paper and pencil to the students. Teachers bought many supplies out of their own money. One teacher bought a computer for her classroom, another bought

science kits, another bought folders and notebooks, several teachers bought classroom paperback libraries, and all of the teachers interviewed bought basic supplies like pencils, paper, and pens.

In addition to purchasing supplies, each teacher had an economic philosophy about the distribution of reading and writing resources. In brief, across teachers, their common economic philosophy was that students should have reading and writing resources available to them but that students should not waste the resources, should use the resources wisely and conserve whatever resources they could, and that students should take as much responsibility for their own reading and writing resources as possible.

Beyond their common economic philosophy, teachers differed (1) in the degree of responsibility for resources they expected of students (in part, this was a function of grade level), (2) in how they implemented their economic philosophies, and (3) the degree to which they saw the distribution of reading and writing resources as a means to teach economic values.

Regardless of the teacher's explicit or implicit economic philosophy, students responded to reading and writing resources based on their understanding of the economic system inherent in the reading and writing resources. For example, in one classroom the teacher provided paper. She encouraged the students to take as much paper as they wanted, whenever they wanted. She encouraged students to keep extra paper around for art work, drafting and writing. When interviewed, students said

that they should only take 2 sheets so that they didn't waste paper. One explanation could be that there is a difference between what the teacher says and what the teacher does in the classroom. However, classroom observations found the teacher acting consistent with her philosophy. A second explanation could be that students come into classrooms with expectations about the inherent economic philosophy of reading and writing resources and those expectations are resistant to change.

In this section, classroom economic philosophies will first be discussed from the student point of view. Then, classroom economic philosophies will be discussed from the teacher point of view.

STUDENT POINT OF VIEW

For students, classroom economic philosophies take the form of how reading and writing resources are distributed. That is, students' sense of the classroom economic philosophy is inferred from their responses to questions about how they get reading and writing resources, what kinds of resources they get, and what the meaning of those resources may be.

For example, consider the responses of a first grade student at Nortown elementary school.

DOES [THE TEACHER] GIVE YOU LOTS OF PAPER OR A
LITTLE PAPER? WHAT KIND OF PAPER DOES SHE GIVE
YOU?

A big piece of paper.

ONE PIECE OR TWO PIECES?

One piece.

WHAT DO YOU WRITE WITH?

A pencil.

WHERE DO YOU GET THE PENCIL FROM?

Out of the can [on the teacher's desk].

WHAT ARE THE BEST KINDS OF PENCILS TO USE?

Yellow.

YELLOW PENCILS? WHY ARE THEY BETTER THAN OTHER
PENCILS?

Cause they got an eraser on it.

AHH HAA THEY GOT AN ERASER ON IT. HOW ARE THEY
DIFFERENT FROM THE RED PENCILS? They've got an
eraser.

ARE THERE OTHER WAYS THEY'RE DIFFERENT?

Yes.

HOW?

But they got a yellow one and the red pencils
don't.

Red pencils were fat, big, round pencils often used with
early elementary school students. At the end of the school
year, the teacher distributed yellow pencils that are like the
typical store-bought #2 pencil; -- narrow, six sided, with an
eraser on the top. Getting the yellow pencil was a sign of
status, part of the promotion and maturation process of moving
from first to second grade. For the first grade students,
getting reading and writing resources was primarily a matter of
reliance on the teacher (see Chapter 3 for a detailed

discussion). The teacher supplied all needs related to accomplishing assigned classwork. However, as the student's responses show, students were limited to only those supplies that were necessary. Students received one sheet of paper at a time. Pencils and other resources were saved from day to day. The economic philosophy could be stated as making the best use of the limited resources one has and don't waste anything.

The kinds of paper available to students may also be a part of communicating implicit economic philosophies. Students were typically given newsprint. Newsprint is flimsy and doesn't erase well. Newsprint tears easily. If a student uses too much pressure in holding a paper or in writing, the paper will tear. However, newsprint is also cheaper than regular paper. When students receive regular paper on which to write, it is usually for a special event such as copying over stories for a school contest. Receiving regular paper from the teacher was viewed by students as a sign of status. The implication for economic philosophies is to reinforce the sense that resources must be saved and the most important resources (e.g., regular white paper and yellow pencils with erasers) must be saved for the most important events and people (e.g., those students asked to copy over their stories for the school context).

The sense of saving and not wasting resources can also be seen in the responses of second and third grade students.

(A Nortown Second Grade Student)

HOW MUCH PAPER CAN [ONE] GET [OUT OF THE BOX]?

one peice of paper and when you are finished with that work on that piece of paper and you get another to finish other work.

(A Bigtown Second Grade Student)

HOW MUCH PAPER DO YOU GET? DO YOU GET ONE SHEET? FIVE SHEETS? TEN SHEETS? 100 SHEETS?

We don't get any white sheets anymore. Because we're all out and we just use these green paper and one ay a time we have to use it...[the teacher] only let's us get one sheet at a time.

(A Nortown Thrird Grade Student)

WHERE DO MOST OF THE KIDS GET PAPER FROM?

That we have a box with paper in it and we go over and get it from it

AND HOW MANY SHEETS WOULD [ONE] GET?

One.

AH HA. WHY WOULD I GET ONE SHEET?

Because so you wouldn't waste the paper.

Not all teachers kept students to one piece of paper at a time. For example in the Nortown fifth grade class students could take as much paper as they wanted "as long as you don't get too many at a time." However, even when students are able

to get more than one sheet of paper, they may still adhere to the norm of one sheet of paper per assignment. That is, getting more than one sheet of paper may have more to do with classroom management than with providing students an alternative economic philosophy for the use of reading and writing resources. For example, consider the responses of another Nortown fifth grade student.

HOW MUCH [PAPER] WOULD [SOMEONE] GET?

Around 3.

3 SHEETS. WHY THREE SHEETS?

Cause and then if people get more than 3 there won't be enough.

WHO SAYS THAT?

[The teacher]

ALRIGHT SO [YOU CAN] GET THREE SHEETS OF PAPER.

WHY WON'T THEY JUST GET ONE SHEET OF PAPER?

So when you write on that one you won't have any more paper to write on.

The student's last response above suggests that having additional paper is a management issue. If you have extra paper, after you finish one assignment you can go onto the next without having to get up and get more paper. Extra paper is not viewed as a resource. That is, extra paper is not viewed as a means to help students plan, draft, figure, etc., with regard to a single assignment. Rather, extra paper merely eliminates having to get one sheet of paper at a time each time one goes on to a new assignment or when one rips or tears the original sheet

of paper.

To understand the economic philosophies underlying use of reading and writing resources from the student's point of view, it is important to note that students are required to have the supplies and are provided the supplies by the teacher (or in the upper grades told what supplies to buy). In effect, students may view the situation as if they are using someone else's things. That is, the students may feel that the reading and writing resources belong to the school. After all, teachers monitor and control the use and distribution of the resources. Even students in the middle school grades who buy their own pencils, paper, etc., are required to buy them and to use them in specified ways. In effect, although students buy the resources, students may view the resources as really belonging to the school.

In sum, from the student's perspective, the economic philosophy underlying use and distribution of reading and writing resources can be briefly stated as -- you get what you need, use them wisely, don't be wasteful, and they don't belong to you.

CLASSROOM ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES: TEACHER PERSPECTIVES

For teachers, school policies influenced their views of the economics of reading and writing resource distribution. Thus, in this section, no attempt has been made to separate out teacher perspectives from the school district's influence. That is, although teachers may have had totally different economic

philosophies than the school district, teachers had to react the school district's economic policies.

In brief, teachers tended to view the distribution of reading and writing resources either as a pragmatic/management issue and/or as a means to teach values and economics. For example, in a seventh grade classroom studied during the 1979-80 year, the teacher sold pencils to students. One pencil cost ten cents, two pencils cost fifteen cents, three pencils cost twenty-five cents, and four pencils cost thirty cents. The teacher's expressed goal was to teach students to figure out the best bargain. Thus, the teacher solved both a management problem (e.g., students asking for pencils to do classwork) and taught an economics/mathematics lesson as well. Interestingly, students tended to ignore the economics of buying pencils and purchased the number of pencils they needed regardless of cost.

To describe teacher perspectives of the classroom economics of reading and writing resources, excerpts are presented from interviews with four teachers. The excerpts represent the different kinds of perspectives revealed by teachers participating the study.

(Nortown Second Grade Teacher)

The school gives -- is a sort of pencil allowance. Ah we're supposed to have one pencil per child per month which last for one day. If, I mean if you've given everybody a pencil every time they need it, so I've asked them, usually

unless it's a dire emergency, if, if they would, you know, to supplement thus, bring pencils from home. So most, mostly they do. And they trade pencils and so forth.

(The Nortown Thrid Grade Teacher)

At the beginning of the year I usually set up what we might need. For instance, if we are going to do a journal that might need a spiral notebook. They don't have to and we can't say they have to but we can suggest thtat they do that. Other wise we can get together paper and put it together as a book. Pencil and paper we're legally bound to hand them. So I usually encourage them to bring their own and I usually hand out pencils. Every once in a while we have an incentive program in the classroom where if they are good all dau and do not get their names up on the board I punch their little card. Well after 10 punches they can go and get something out of the grab bag. Well usually in the grab bag will be pencils and paper or anything that they might need. So if they really need that kind of thing they can get it.

WHAT KIND OF PAPER DO YOU HAVE TO DISTRIBUTE?

We have notebook paper, regular sipral notebook paper and hand writing paper. It is on white,

kind of newsprint type color.

DO YOU FIND THAT KIDS ARE RELUCTANT TO GET UP
AND GET EXTRA PAPER EVEN IF THEY CAN?

No, I really don't find that. In fact they usually go and get much more than they need and bring it back and sometimes you do watch it because they will have a big pile of it. They don't seem to mind going and getting paper. But a lot of them bring their own and then the others, you know, go and get what they need. I have always wondered on how fair it is or what values we are teaching because I tell them I want them to bring in paper. I can't enforce it. There is nothing much I can do about it. Many of the kids don't, maybe many of them can't. I am not sure. Maybe many of them forget. I don't know what values we are giving though when we expect something to be done and yet we really can't enforce it. So if they don't bring it there is really nothing much we can do about it so we hand it out. And it is there, it is no big problem to get paper. We always have paper at school. But I wonder what I am really getting across to them that they don't have to bring paper since it will be at school and what is the incentive to bring their own? I am not real sure what that is?....I am

kind of in to values in a classroom and in the beginning we talk about OK if we have paper and you make a mistake, you know, don't just crumple it up. That is not to me what is important, you know, continue with your thought and now if you finish and you really would like to do it over again you can always turn it over and do it over again or whatever. But the idea isn't to, -- the minute you make a mistake get up and throw the paper away and get another one and start over. You know, continue with your thought and not have to waste that energy.

(Bigtown Fourth Grade Teacher)

We've talked about that [getting pencils and paper]. Generally I have specified that I don't want them taking a big wad of paper because I said I'm only allowed a certain amount of this paper and when that's gone...they are not to pad their notebooks with the paper. I'm sure some of them do.

(Nortown Sixth Grade Teacher)

One of the things I told the kids that if they don't have a pencil get right to my desk at the beginning of the hour to sign out a pencil. And I have appointed kids to take that

responsibility. Where the kids sign out the pencils [garbled]... I'm reluctant to pass out pencils after the hour has started. Simply there's a guideline that the first part of the hour borrow the pencil. Later on, they are going to make them take their responsibility. Quite often they won't. I avoid the consequences of that philosophy and I give them the pencil anyways. Rather than see them sitting there not functioning as they could be if they had their pencils.

As the teacher perspectives above suggest, teachers differed in how much they wanted to emphasize the teaching of economic values and personal responsibility through the distribution of reading and writing resources. The third grade Nortown teacher felt strongly about the teaching of economic values and personal responsibility, while the sixth grade Nortown teacher felt that economic philosophies and related values issues were not pragmatic and should not be allowed to get in the way of student academic learning.

All of the teachers attempted to devise a management system so that students would not constantly bother them for reading and writing resources. In some classes, this took the form of boxes of paper and cans of pencils which students could go to independently. In other classes, management took the form of rules for when requests could be made of the teacher. In all

of the classrooms, teachers supplemented what supplies that were given by the school with their own supplies.

In sum, the economic philosophies presented by the teachers differed from those assumed by students. Whereas teachers allowed students to get as much paper as they wanted (no teacher limited students to a single sheet of paper), students thought that they should only get a single sheet of paper. Of course, there may be differences between what teachers say and what teachers do that influences student economic philosophies about reading and writing resources. School policies may be an important factor in creating the difference between the economic philosophies underlying teacher perspectives of reading and writing resources and student perspectives.

The importance of examining economic philosophies underlying reading and writing resources is that the economic philosophies influence who gets what resources, when, and to do what. In brief, economic philosophies are a mediating factor in what tools are available to students as they engage in reading and writing tasks. For example, economic philosophies that emphasize the limited distribution of paper and the elimination of the wasteful use of paper may hinder student writing processes such as planning, drafting, and revising. Of course, having the resources available does not necessarily mean that they will be appropriately or productively used.

CHAPTER 6 - - SEX DIFFERENCES IN STUDENT USE OF, CONTROL OF, AND GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe sex-linked characteristics of reading and writing resources. Of specific concern are how male and female students gain access to reading and writing resources such as pencils and paper. That is, this chapter focuses on physical resources (see chapter 3) only and omits discussion of linguistic task framework resources (see Chapter 4).

The intent to explore sex-linked differences emerged from observations of student literacy activity during the 1979-1980 school year in a seventh grade class (see Bloome & Green, 1982). One activity related to reading and writing resources was pencil-break. Pencil-break is a game played almost exclusively by male students. The goal of the game is to break the pencil point of the other student's pencil. Students would play pencil-break before class began, during seatwork, extended transitions between lessons, or other times when the teacher was not closely monitoring student behavior. The winner of pencil-break gained status among both male and female students watching. The loser had to find another pencil to use for classwork since class rules prevented sharpening pencils during class. While losers would borrow pencils from nearby close friends of the same sex, often losers borrowed from nearby female students. The female students would always provide a

pencil or they would solicit a pencil for the male student from other female students.

Observations of pencil-break games lead to a series of questions about sex-linked differences in gaining access to reading and writing resources. Who borrows what resources from whom under what circumstances? Who supplies resources? At what level do sex-linked differences emerge?

It is important to note that the questions above are descriptive in nature. They do not explore cause-effect relationships nor what factors facilitate or hinder the development of sex-linked behaviors regarding access to reading and writing resources.

Through re-analysis of data collected during the 1979-1980 ethnographic study of junior high school literacy activity (Bloome & Green, 1982), findings suggested that female students in general, brought more resources to school, had extra resources (e.g., an extra pen or pencil and extra paper), lent resources to both male and female students regardless of friendship, rarely borrowed resources, and had a broader range of resources than male students (e.g., having eraser, ruler, colored pencil in addition to pencil and paper).

These findings, of course, are limited to the setting from which they were derived. However, they provided a starting place for questions about other settings. Specifically, the findings provided a starting place for asking questions about sex-linked differences in gaining access to reading and writing resources across grades k-8.

The findings reported later in this chapter need to be viewed with caution. Although the findings come from analysis of sex-linked differences across grades and classrooms, the findings may not be generalized outside of the two k-8 sequences from which they were derived. Further, although both k-8 sequences involved primarily urban, lower and working class students from Black and Latino backgrounds, it is not clear whether the findings can be generalized to similar populations elsewhere. Further studies are needed.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

As stated in the Introduction, each chapter is written so that it can be read independently of other chapters in the report. The overview of the study presented below is a repetition of the overview presented in Chapters 3 through 7. It is meant to assist those readers who have not read Chapter 1 nor the overviews presented in other chapters. Readers who have read Chapter 1 and/or the overviews presented in other chapters should feel free to skip the overview presented here.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the research are described in detail in Chapter 1. Briefly, there are three main theoretical constructs: (1) reading and writing are not only cognitive-linguistic processes but are also social-communicative processes requiring that reading and writing be viewed as contextuated activities, (2) reading and writing resources are

defined socially, and (3) reading and writing resources are "tools" and like any set of "tools," the nature of the "tools" influences what the tool-user does. These three constructs are briefly discussed below.

Reading and Writing as Contextuated Activities. Recent research has shown that reading and writing are influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and at the same time reading and writing are part of the processes involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people (see Bloome & Green, 1982; Bloome & Green, in press). That is, the interpersonal contexts in which reading and writing take place influence the cognitive-linguistic nature of reading and writing while at the same time reading and writing are used to shape interpersonal relationships. Thus, the social-communicative contexts of reading and writing become important not only as background to reading and writing processes but also as the foreground as well.

The result of viewing reading and writing as contextuated processes is at least twofold. First, questions are raised about similarities and differences in the nature of reading and writing across contexts. Such questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence alluded to above. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that

can capture the contexts of reading and writing and provide a means for comparison. Such an approach is more dialectical than cumulative.

Reading and Writing Resources Are Defined Socially. In order to engage in reading and writing, students need appropriate resources; -- both physical resources and linguistic task framework resources. Gaining access to those resources is a social process. That is, who gets what resources when, where, and how is determined through teacher-student and student-student interaction. Students may fail to gain access because they lack the needed communicative competence or they may fail to gain access because others are denying access to them.

Students can gain access only to those resources present. What resources are available is also socially determined. That is, what resources are to be made available to one group of students versus another is explicitly or implicitly a social decision involving relationships between people.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

Reading and Writing Resources as Tools. People use tools and tools use people. For example, a factory worker using a

drill on a production line is an appendage of the tool. The worker must meet the demands of the tool and production line. The tool uses the worker. However, at home the same factory worker may use a drill to make a toy. In that situation, the tool is an appendage of the worker and the tool can make no demands of the worker (the worker makes demands of the tool).

Another important aspect of the relationship between tools and people is how tools influence the framework with which people "see" the world. A person with a hammer may look at the world as a series of nails. Of course, having a tool or a set of tools does not necessitate "seeing" the world in terms of those tools, but is rather one of a number of subtle influences. Indeed, how people view what tools can do is also a social process. For example, a hammer could be used as a bookend. However, people do not tend to think of hammers as bookends. In other words, what tools can be used for is influenced by social processes, past experiences, and the frameworks that people have developed for the use of tools.

The concepts above about tools are also true about reading and writing resources. Students both use and get used by reading/writing resources. Reading/writing resources influence how students "see" the world. And, the use of reading/writing resources is limited by the frameworks that students (and others) develop for their use.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

Detailed description of the research study is provided in Chapter 1. Data collection techniques included field notes, videotaping, audiotaping, photopgraphs, collection of samples of student work, and ethnographic interviewng. Data analysis involved three stages. First, general patterns and questions about the nature and use of reading/writing resources were generated. These general patterns and questions were based on previous research (see Introduction), on recurrent issues and patterns suggested by data collected from the field, and on participants' perspectives (as revealed through interviews and participant observation). Second, detailed descriptions were made of the use and nature of reading/writing resources pertinent to the general patterns and questions previously established. And finally third, detailed descriptions were shared with participating teachers who vailidated the descriptions (findings) as "accurate" from their perspectives.

Data on reading and writing resources were collected in 13 classrooms over an eight month period (the amount of time and period over which each classroom was studied varied; -- see Chapter 1 for details). In Nortown Elementary School one class at each grade, K to 5, was studied. At Nortown Middle School, one English class at each grade, 6 to 8, was studied. At Bigtown School, one class at grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 were studied. Descriptions of the schools and the school communities can be found in Chapter 2.

SEX-LINKED DIFFERENCES IN GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES K-8

Two sets of findings are reported here. First, findings about the distribution of reading and writing resources across male and female students is described. Sex-linked differences here are primarily related to what resources students brought with them to school and/or what resources students borrowed from other students. Second, findings about the 'designated male intellectual' are described. In nearly every classroom, at least one male student was designated as the intellectual by male peers. For the designated intellectual, carrying books home, engaging in academic reading, scoring high on tests, having adequate or even extra resources was socially acceptable. Other male students were negatively sanctioned for doing the same academic behaviors as the designated intellectual.

DISTRIBUTION OF READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

In the early elementary grades, teachers provided most -- if not all of the reading and writing resources that students needed. However, by middle school, students had to supply nearly all of their own reading and writing resources. For example, the Nortown first grade and the Nortown sixth grade are compared in Table 8-1 below.

TABLE 6-1

RESOURCE	SUPPLIED BY WHOM	
	1st grade	6th grade
pencils/pens	teacher	student
paper	teacher	student
eraser	teacher	student
notebooks/folders	teacher	student
recreational books	teacher	student
textbooks*	teacher	student
worksheets	teacher	teacher

* Students in 6th grade had to bring textbooks to class from their lockers.

Findings regarding whether resources are supplied by teacher or student are reported in depth in Chapter 3. Those findings suggested that as students move through the grades they are increasingly held responsible for providing their own supplies.

The degree to which the teacher (and/or the school) provided reading and writing resources may be a mediating factor in the description of the sex-linked distribution of reading and writing resources. In the earlier grades, less difference was

seen in the distribution of reading and writing resources across male and female students. Part of the explanation may be the role of the school and teacher in providing resources. Simply put, because of the teacher/school, sex-linked differences may be masked.

However, although there were few differences observed in the distribution of reading and writing resources in the early grades, when interviewed students occasionally revealed sex-linked differences. When asked who they might borrow a pencil from IF THEY COULD NOT GET ONE FROM THE TEACHER, early elementary males gave the name of a close friend first or of the person sitting next to them. Then they would name female students. Early elementary female students would primarily name other female students. However, the question itself -- who would you borrow a pencil or some paper from? -- was not necessarily a valid question to ask. Students would tend to answer that they would get supplies from the teacher although the question specifically excluded the teacher. Student responses had to be inferred somewhat from the list of names they gave in direct response to who do you borrow from. For example, consider the response of the second grade male student below.

SOME PEOPLE ALWAYS FORGET [TO BRING THEIR
PENCILS]?

yup, like Angelo.

ANGELO ALWAYS FORGETS?

yup.

SO SOMEBODY HAS TO SHARE WITH HIM? WHO SHARES
WITH HIM THE MOST?

Danny, Jason, Bryan asks for one.

SO THE BOYS HELP THE BOYS.

yup.

WHO DO YOU SHARE WITH?

Randy, Sabrina, Ilonda, Rebecca, Madeline.

For some early elementary female students, the question of who
to borrow from is an absurd question. For example, consider the
responses of the second grade female student below.

DID YOU EVER SHARE IT [PAPER] WITH ANYBODY?

ya, sometimes.

WHO DO YOU SHARE WITH?

my friends.

YOUR FRIENDS. WHO ARE YOUR FRIENDS?

Andrea, Katrina, Ann, Dawn, Michael, and Brenda.

NOW WHAT IF I WAS IN THE CLASS AND I WANTED A
SHEET OF PAPER. CAN I COME UP TO YOU AND ASK
YOU FOR A SHEET OF PAPER?

yes.

EVEN IF I WASN'T ONE OF YOUR CLOSE FRIENDS?

yes.

NOW YOU SAY YOU LEAVE YOUR PENCIL IN SCHOOL.

RIGHT? WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU CAME TO SCHOOL
ONE DAY AND YOU COULDN'T FIND YOUR PENCIL?

I'd write with my pen.

YOU'D WRITE WITH YOUR PEN. YOU HAVE A PEN AND A
PENCIL IN SCHOOL. WHAT IF YOU CAME TO SCHOOL
AND YOU DIDN'T FIND EITHER YOUR PEN OR YOUR
PENCIL?

I'd have another pen.

YOU DIDN'T FIND ANYTHING. NONE OF YOUR PENS
WERE THERE AND NONE OF YOUR PENCILS WERE THERE.

I have my crayons.

WELL YOUR CRAYONS. I SEE. DO YOU HAVE A LOT OF
PENCILS AND PENS? HOW MANY DO YOU HAVE?

I have three pens. And I have four pencils.

TWO PENS AND FOUR PENCILS. THAT'S A LOT ISN'T
IT? AND YOU'VE GOT A LOT OF PAPER TOO.

yes.

Student's responses in early elementary grades suggest that questions about sex-linked differences in reading and writing resources may not be valid. However, distinctions need to be made between what students perceive, what students do, and what behavior differences exist across sexes. Although students may not be conscious of sex-linked differences, and although students may not have to borrow resources from other students, in the early elementary grades differences between male and

female students do appear in what resources they bring with them to school. For example consider the second grade male student's response below. In his classroom, the teacher conducted a survey of students to determine whether there were sex-linked differences.

YOU GET A PENCIL EVERY MONTH [FROM THE TEACHER].

WHAT HAPPENS IF YOU LOSE YOUR PENCIL? WHAT DO YOU DO?

Well usually, you can go over to your friends and get, borrow a pencil cause everybody has at least two pencils. I don't have 2 pencils. I have 2 pencils but they are little kinds.

LET ME ASK YOU THIS. SAY RIGHT NOW YOU DIDN'T HAVE A PENCIL. AND NAME SOME KIDS YOU WOULD GO TO TO GET A PENCIL.

probably Kristin.

KRISTIN. IS THAT A BOY OR A GIRL?

girl.

OK WHO ELSE MIGHT YOU GO TO.

I'd go to all girls because they have cause we did a test on how many what girls have and girls have the most pencils so I'd probably go to girls mostly.

YOU HAD A TEST? WAS THAT JUST RECENTLY?

no it was about last month May, and we did it up on the board.

AH HA.

she did she wondered how many boys have a pencil. And they just raised their hands. Have a pencil case and how many boys have extra pencils.

BEFORE THAT THE FORMAT BEFORE THAT TIME WHERE WOULD YOU GO? LIKE IN DECEMEBER OR JANUARY.

I'd probably go over to Pats.

PATS. IS THAT A BOY OR A GIRL?

Boy he sits where that class...see that class."

As the interview above suggests, although there may be sex-linked differences in what students bring to school, it is not clear whether these sex-linked differences are consciously perceived by students (teacher interviews suggested that such differences were not perceived by teachers at any grade level) or whether such differences make any difference at all in students having the resources they need in order to complete classroom tasks. Simply put, early elementary students may have only become conscious of sex-linked differences after they were asked questions about the differences.

In addition, sex-linked differences in reading and writing resources may be confounded by classroom academic status. For example, in the Nortown first grade classroom, the top reading group consisted of three female students. These students tended to bring extra supplies to school and were the first ones to bring book bags and notebooks (though their was

not any real need to do so since the teacher would provided reading and writing supplies). It is not clear whether being in the top group contributed to bringing resources, whether sex-role differentiation contributed, and/or whether bring resources contributed to sex-role differentiation and academic status.

In the middle school grades, sex-linked differences in reading and writing resources were more obvious. Female students came to class with, in general, more supplies (more paper and more pens and pencils). Male students tended to borrow from female students but female students did not borrow from male students (female students rarely borrowed paper or pencil since they usually had enough of their own). Male students tended to take home fewer books and other school-related resources.

Female students tended to share resources within a well-defined social network. For example, in one classroom a female student was observed to be reading Judy Blume's *Forever*. Her reading was done covertly since students were supposed to be listening to the teacher explain a grammar assignment. When the student finished reading a section she covertly passed the book to a female friend who was sitting two rows away. The friend read a designated portion and passed it to another female friend who was sitting behind her. Similar findings come from observations in the fourth grade Bigtown classroom. In that classroom both male and female students were encouraged by the teacher to bring paperback books to school. Female students

tended to share their books with each other and male students tended to share their books with each other.

THE DESIGNATED MALE INTELLECTUAL

The concept of the "designated male intellectual" came from interviews with Bigtown middle school students during Summer, 1982. Those interviews focused on general Summertime reading and writing activities and were also intended to follow-up on observations made during the school year. In addition to interviews, three days per week were spent in participant observation, "hanging out" with the students and doing what the students typically did on summer days.

One group of students (3) were from a heterogeneously-grouped sixth grade class. These students lived in a middle-class, predominately Black neighborhood. A second group of students (2) were from the low-track, homogeneously-grouped eighth grade class. These students lived in a working-class, predominately Black neighborhood.

The concept of a designated male intellectual came from the low-track eighth grade students. During interviews and during naturally-occurring conversations, students talked about friends and peers. One of the friends, John [pseudonym], was described as "always reading," "he's real smart," "he brings a lot of books home," "he always gets all A's" and similar phrases. In response to questions about John's acceptance by peers in the neighborhood, I was consistently told that "John was o.k." He was invited to parties. John could hang-out with

the group, join in the basketball, going to play video games, walking around, etc., if he wanted to do so -- but that he would probably be reading at home.

John's acceptance by his peers was an exception to the rule about how male adolescents in that neighborhood maintained peer group membership. Hanging out with the group, playing basketball, and participation in other group activities were necessary for group membership. Participating in individual activities, like reading, especially when those activities separated one from the group (e.g., reading books afterschool when everyone else was playing basketball), was viewed as a sign of non-group membership. Further, carrying lots of books home, without the reputation of being an intellectual, was viewed as out-of-place. For example, students would say "he brings a lot of books home but he don't read them," "he makes like he's studying hard but he don't get A's in school," or "those books are just for show." Not participating in peer group activities, such as playing video games after school or hanging-out with a small group of friends, might result in peers saying "his mother won't let him do anything afterschool," or "I don't know him, he keeps to himself." In brief, except for the designated male intellectual -- the one male student in the neighborhood who was both a peer group member and academically-oriented -- other male students did not seem to be allowed to be both a member of the peer group and to participate in academic activities like reading which took them away from the peer group.

During interviews, students were asked about other

designated male intellectuals in the neighborhood. They could not list any others besides John. However, they could list younger elementary school children who had similar characteristics (e.g., read a lot, brought lots of books home, got all A's in school).

Other researchers have discussed adolescent peer group membership and participation in school academic activities like reading. In a study of adolescent gangs in New York, Labov and Robins (1969) report that reading and similar activities were associated with school and not with peer activities. For an adolescent male, participation in school activities would violate peer group membership. Those students who engaged in academic activities were not viewed as representative of the adolescent male population studied. They were described as "lames," isolates who did not participate in the peer adolescent social doings.

There are many differences between the students studied in this study and the students studied in the Labov and Robins (1969) study. The students in this study did not belong to gangs. Neither they nor the adult members in the neighborhood considered the adolescent social groups as gangs (although the students did occasionally engage in petty theft [shoplifting] and smoking marijuana, they did not engage in major drug or criminal activity). Further, the Labov and Robins study occurred nearly 20 years prior to the current study and in a different urban setting. The nature of adolescent gangs may have changed over time or be different across major urban areas.

For example, both students and adults in the neighborhood defined a gang as one of the criminal gangs described in local newspapers. Those gangs were city-wide, centrally organized, engaged in the multi-million dollar per year distribution and use of heroin and other hard drugs, and engaged in murder as part of their business and social operations. Such a definition of a gang differs with the definition of gang implied in the Labov and Robins study.

The findings from the interviews and participant observation with middle school students over the Summer suggested although academic achievement and school-like reading may violate norms adolescent peer group membership in the study site, within the adolescent peer group, a role was reserved for at least one male to be what I have called the designated male intellectual. The designated male intellectual was a source of pride to the other male adolescents, he was accepted as a regular member of the peer group, and he was not negatively sanctioned for engaging in activities for which other male students seemed to be negatively sanctioned (e.g., carrying a lot of books home and staying inside after school to do homework and/or reading).

Part of the goal of the current study was to determine the extent to which the phenomena of a designated male intellectual existed within classrooms in the study site. Of special interest were the grade levels at which designated male intellectuals existed and class conditions which fostered or hindered the role development of designated male intellectuals.

The primary source of data were teacher interviews, student interviews, and class observations.

Part of the difficulty in identifying designated male intellectuals was that the student had to be both a peer group member and also socially identified as academically outstanding. Unlike the interviews with adolescent students over the summer (briefly described earlier), the research method did not allow researchers to develop rapport with many of the students interviewed. There was little opportunity to develop rapport with the students in grades 3 through 8 in the Nortown schools and in grades 2 and 4 in the Bigtown schools. Thus, the validity of the information received through those interviews is suspect. As experience in other situations has shown, students may provide answers they expect an adult wants to hear rather than accurate information. Further, although teachers could help identify academically active male students, they were not in a position to know how a particular student's academic behavior was interpreted by other male students. Nonetheless, the findings from the interviews and classroom observations help define potential issues and mediating factors related to the designated male intellectual phenomena.

In the early elementary grades (Nortown K and 1), the concept of a designated male intellectual was not viewed by teachers nor students as a valid description. However, in grade 2, at both Nortown and Bigtown schools, the teachers agreed that the construct of a designated male intellectual was a valid description.

At the second grade level, each teacher identified at least one student who fit the role definition. The disagreement the teachers had with the construct was that they identified more than one designated male intellectual. The Nortown teacher identified two students that fit the role and the Bigtown teacher identified three students. Interviews with students in grade two suggested that outside of school, peer group activity was limited to a few friends who lived nearby. However, peer activity was severely constrained by family activity. The second grade students suggested that peer group membership was subsumed under family activity and that there were family norms for peer group activities. In brief, while students may have been negatively sanctioned for academic activity that took the student away from the peer group, such sanctions were not regarded as important. A student who was teased on the playground about getting all A's may dislike the teasing, but that student is not likely to view that teasing as a rationale for changing academic behavior patterns.

In grade three, the teacher found the construct of a designated male intellectual to be useful in describing aspects of former classes, but not her current third grade class. Her current class consisted of high-track students. Interviews with students suggested that they had formed classroom based peer groups that focused on both academic work and non-school social activities like television watching, sports, etc. Like the second grades, peer group activities did not hold as much importance as family based activities. Further, in the third

grade classroom, many students were bussed to school. Thus, students participated in two separate peer groups. One group that was school-based and a second group that was neighborhood based. The neighborhood based group was severely constrained by family rules and norms. Like the second grade students, although a student might be negatively sanctioned by a neighborhood peer group, that was unlikely because the neighborhood group had little knowledge of any student's academic behavior and even if sanctioning did occur it was not likely to change academic behavior.

In the Nertown fourth grade classroom, the teacher agreed that the construct of a designated male intellectual had validity for past classes but not for her current class. Of her class of 33 students, only 10 were female. The teacher felt that such an imbalance changed the nature of social relationships and the role of academics within the establishment of social relationships. Interviews with students confirmed the teachers observations. Like the third graders, many students were bussed to school with potentially the same effect. Gathering data on the designated male intellectual from the fourth grade students was difficult because they felt the construct was not a valid description. Further, they felt that related academic behavior to social, peer group behavior was also not valid. Thus, they often responded to questions such as "What do your friends say when somebody gets all A's?" with answers such as "I don't know" or "What do you mean?"

In the Bigtown fourth grade classroom, the teacher

identified two students who fit the description of the designated male intellectual. However, the teacher tempered agreement with the construct of a designated male intellectual by suggesting that it was only once in a while when academic behavior affected male students' peer group behavior. However, it was hard to identify exactly those situations or academic behaviors which did have an affect on peer group social behavior and group membership. The Bigtown fourth grade teacher raised the observation that it was more likely that misbehaving, anti-academic students (those who visibly refuse participation in academic activities and continuously got into trouble in the classroom) were more likely to be negatively sanctioned by the peer group than those students who were achieving academically. The fourth grade teacher's observation was subsequently repeated by teachers in grades k through four in both Bigtown and Nortown.

In the Nortown fifth grade, the teacher readily identified the classroom designated male intellectual. The student was accepted by peers, did well academically, and, engaged in academic activities beyond those required (e.g., carrying extra paper and pencils, doing extra credit work, choosing to read books, carrying books to school to read, taking home library and other school books). The fifth grade teacher made a distinction between those male students who were doing well academically and who formed their own peer group separate from the other male students versus a male student who was doing well academically and was still a part of the male peer group.

When asked about whether there was one, two or more designated male intellectuals in the class, the teacher was somewhat vague suggesting that there may be more than one but he could only name one at that time.

Interviews with the sixth grade teacher at Nortown Middle School confirmed the construct of the designated male intellectual. Like the fifth grade teacher, the sixth grade teacher could distinguish between those male students who were doing well academically versus two male students who he felt were doing well academically and were regular members of the male peer group. He noted that the designated male intellectual helped a number of male students 'get by' by having extra paper or pencils to loan, by assisting with homework (either giving advice or allowing homework to be copied), answering questions that otherwise would be asked of other male students in the classroom, etc. The sixth grade teacher raised the question of whether it wasn't just an issue of whether the peer group accepted the designated male intellectual but whether the designated male intellectual accepted the peer group. Unlike other academically achieving students, the two students identified by the teacher as designated male intellectuals did not raise their hands to answer questions when other students were slow to respond, did not try and show off in the class, and were interested in sports. Observations in the Nortown sixth grade classroom neither confirmed nor disconfirmed the teacher's observations since few situations were observed in which such behaviors would have been possible (the classroom was extremely

teacher-centered, students worked individually and quietly, although the teacher asked questions and engaged the students in vigorous discussion because there were close to 40 students few students had more than a single opportunity to talk). However, a review of videotapes and field notes made in the Bigtown eighth grade class provided confirming evidence. The designated male intellectual in that classroom often brought a paperback book to school to read, took home many textbooks to study, brought extra paper, pens, pencils, etc., to school, and also was popular with the female students in the class, was a star basketball player, helped out other male students in the classroom (no instance was observed in which he was asked for help by female students in the classroom), and academically achieved higher than any other student in the classroom. However, in that classroom, another academically-oriented male student was not part of the peer group. It is hard to tell whether he excluded himself from the male peer social group or whether he was excluded by the the students. He did not often share extra school supplies nor homework but he was not often asked to do so. He did not participate in sports activities but it was never clear whether he wanted to and/or had the ability to do so. Although not disliked by classmates, he was not involved in the peer social activities.

In sum, more research is needed on the nature of the role of designated male intellectual. It is not clear how students assume the role, nor is it clear how the school, the student, and the peer group influence the establishment of the

designated male intellectual role.

CHAPTER 7 -- NON-CLASSROOM READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

Students are expected to bring reading and writing resources to school and to make use of libraries and other resources in their communities. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the availability of reading and writing resources in the two school communities and how students gain access to reading and writing resources in their community.

The discussion focuses on physical reading and writing resources such as pencils, paper, and books. Specifically, the findings describe the logistics of gaining access to reading and writing resources outside of the classroom.

The findings reported here do not address linguistic task framework resources (see Chapter 3 for a definition of linguistic framework resources). The research method did not allow for collection of data on linguistic task framework resources in non-classroom settings.

The chapter is divided into three sections. First, an overview of the general study is presented. Then, findings are presented related to non-classroom reading and writing resources outside of the home. Where can students get books, paper, pencils, etc.? In the last section, findings are presented on reading and writing resources in the home. What resources are available to students in their homes? How do those resources get there?

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

As stated in the Introduction, each chapter is written so that it can be read independently of other chapters in the report. The overview of the study presented below is a repetition of the overview presented in Chapters 3 through 7. It is meant to assist those readers who have not read Chapter 1 nor the overviews presented in other chapters. Readers who have read Chapter 1 and/or the overviews presented in other chapters should feel free to skip the overview presented here.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The theoretical constructs that guided the research are described in detail in Chapter 1. Briefly, there are three main theoretical constructs: (1) reading and writing are not only cognitive-linguistic processes but are also social-communicative processes requiring that reading and writing be viewed as contextuated activities, (2) reading and writing resources are defined socially, and (3) reading and writing resources are "tools" and like any set of "tools," the nature of the "tools" influences what the tool-user does. These three constructs are briefly discussed below.

Reading and Writing as Contextuated Activities. Recent research has shown that reading and writing are influenced by the social contexts in which they occur and at the same time reading and writing are part of the processes involved in constructing social contexts for interaction among people (see

Bloome & Green, 1982; Bloome & Green, in press). That is, the interpersonal contexts in which reading and writing take place influence the cognitive-linguistic nature of reading and writing while at the same time reading and writing are used to shape interpersonal relationships. Thus, the social-communicative contexts of reading and writing become important not only as background to reading and writing processes but also as the foreground as well.

The result of viewing reading and writing as contextuated processes is at least twofold. First, questions are raised about similarities and differences in the nature of reading and writing across contexts. Such questions demand a shift in the traditional approach to exploring the nature of reading and writing; -- which is the second consequence alluded to above. Rather than attempting to accumulate knowledge about a reading or writing process that is generalizable across contexts and independent of context, an approach is needed that can capture the contexts of reading and writing and provide a means for comparison. Such an approach is more dialectical than cumulative.

Reading and Writing Resources Are Defined Socially. In order to engage in reading and writing, students need appropriate resources; -- both physical resources and linguistic taskframework resources. Gaining access to those resources is a social process. That is, who gets what resources when, where, and how is determined through teacher-student and

student-student interaction. Students may fail to gain access because they lack the needed communicative competence or they may fail to gain access because others are denying access to them.

Students can gain access only to those resources present. What resources are available is also socially determined. That is, what resources are to be made available to one group of students versus another is explicitly or implicitly a social decision involving relationships between people.

In sum, reading and writing resources are not only pedagogical implements, they are involved in the social context of reading and writing activities. Understanding the nature of reading and writing resources requires understanding their social nature as well as their pedagogical role.

Reading and Writing Resources as Tools. People use tools and tools use people. For example, a factory worker using a drill on a production line is an appendage of the tool. The worker must meet the demands of the tool and production line. The tool uses the worker. However, at home the same factory worker may use a drill to make a toy. In that situation, the tool is an appendage of the worker and the tool can make no demands of the worker (the worker makes demands of the tool).

Another important aspect of the relationship between tools and people is how tools influence the framework with which people "see" the world. A person with a hammer may look at the world as a series of nails. Of course, having a tool or a set

of tools does not necessitate "seeing" the world in terms of those tools, but is rather one of a number of subtle influences. Indeed, how people view what tools can do is also a social process. For example, a hammer could be used as a bookend. However, people do not tend to think of hammers as bookends. In other words, what tools can be used for is influenced by social processes, past experiences, and the frameworks that people have developed for the use of tools.

The concepts above about tools are also true about reading and writing resources. Students both use and get used by reading/writing resources. Reading/writing resources influence how students "see" the world. And, the use of reading/writing resources is limited by the frameworks that students (and others) develop for their use.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

Detailed description of the research study is provided in Chapter 1. Data collection techniques included field notes, videotaping, audiotaping, photopgraphs, collection of samples of student work, and ethnographic interviewng. Data analysis involved three stages. First, general patterns and questions about the nature and use of reading/writing resources were generated. These general patterns and questions were based on previous research (see Introduction), on recurrent issues and patterns suggested by data collected from the field, and on participants' perspectives (as revealed through interviews and participant observation). Second, detailed descriptions were

made of the use and nature of reading/writing resources pertinent to the general patterns and questions previously established. And finally third, detailed descriptions were shared with participating teachers who validated the descriptions (findings) as "accurate" from their perspectives.

Data on reading and writing resources were collected in 13 classrooms over an eight month period (the amount of time and period over which each classroom was studied varied; -- see Chapter 1 for details). In Nortown Elementary School one class at each grade, K to 5, was studied. At Nortown Middle School, one English class at each grade, 6 to 8, was studied. At Bigtown School, one class at grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 were studied. Descriptions of the schools and the school communities can be found in Chapter 2.

In addition, data was collected from interviews and participant observation at students' homes. Specifically, two elementary students from Nortown and four middle school students from Bigtown were interviewed once or twice a week during the Summer preceeding the study. Participant observation occurred with four of the students (one from Nortown and three from Bigtown) for one-half day per week per student during the Summer. Participant observation consisted of "hanging out" with the student during the day. Parents were also interviewed.

NON-CLASSROOM READING AND WRITING RESOURCES OUTSIDE THE HOME

The findings in this section address the question where can students get reading and writing resources outside of the

school and outside of their home? As the findings here suggest, it cannot be assumed that reading and writing resources are readily available outside of the home from community institutions (e.g., businesses, libraries, stores, churches, etc.).

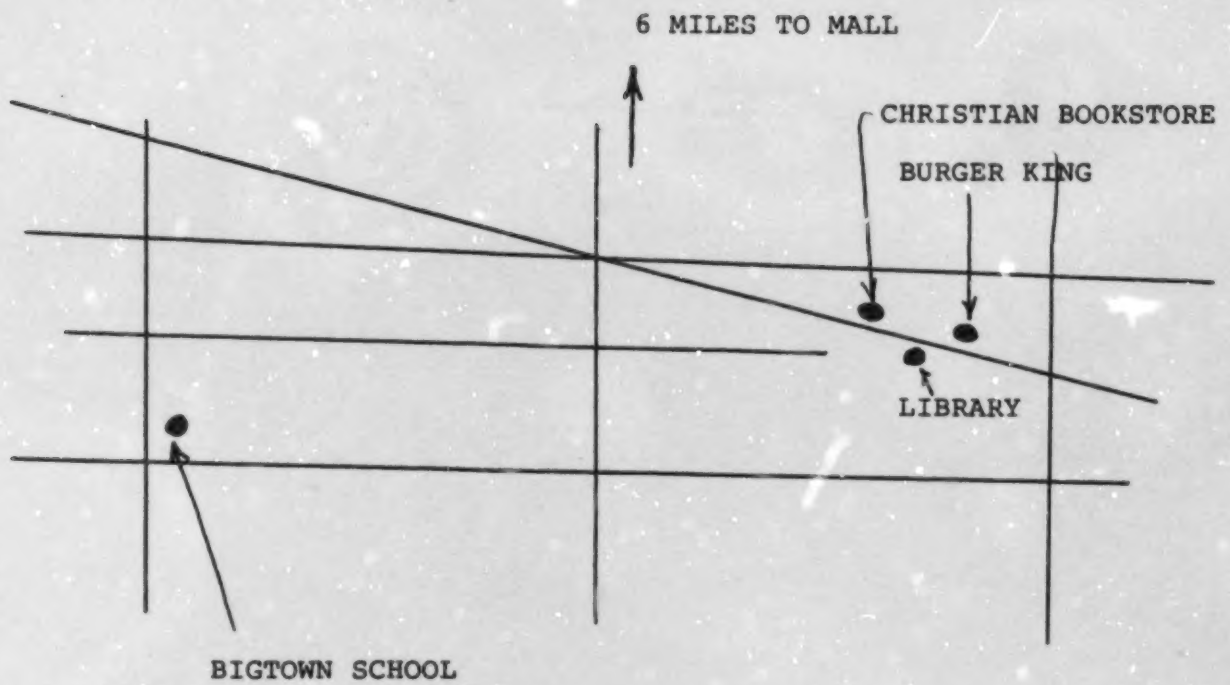
Diagrams 7-1 and 7-2 show the neighborhoods of students participating in the study. Those diagrams show where students can purchase or borrow books. As can be seen in the diagrams, there are few places.

IN THE BIGTOWN SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Diagram 7-1 shows only one bookstore serving the community. That bookstore is a Christian bookstore. Unless one is interested in a bible or a book with a Christian theme there is no bookstore available in the nearby area. One has to travel to suburban shopping malls and/or to the downtown university area to find a general interest bookstore.

None of the Bigtown students had been in the Christian bookstore. Indeed, none knew of its existence. Students had been to the bookstores in the shopping malls. Students would accompany their parents on shopping trips. However, going to a mall did not always mean going to a bookstore. Students reported that their parents might go to a bookstore and bring back a book for them or parents would accompany them to the bookstore.

In addition to the Christian bookstore, there was a branch library in the community. Students reported that they



One inch is aprox. one mile

DIAGRAM 7-1 BIGTOWN SCHOOL COMMUNITY

had been to the library when they were smaller. Financial cutbacks caused the branch library to limit its hours to Tuesday from 9:00 until 1:00 and on Thursday from 2:00 to 8:00. Students were unaware of the library hours. Students reported having been to the library to find that it was closed. Even when students learned when the library was open they had a difficult time organizing their Summer schedules to go to the library. In part, students' difficulties with the library schedule were the result of the "timelessness" of students' Summer. The sameness of each day and the loss of distinction between weekdays and weekends may have caused students to forget the day of the week. Students were often confused about whether the day was Tuesday or Wednesday, for example. When students did manage to get to the library it was often the result of parents having organized the effort for the student. Typically, a parent would tell the student to go to the library at a specific time for a specific purpose (e.g., 'take your brother and get him three books to read and get a book for yourself') on the day the student should go to the library.

Other sources of books were local drugstores, supermarkets, and a Kresge's. While these stores had paperback books, the selection was limited. There were a few books for young children and books for adults. There were no books targeted for an adolescent audience. None of the students named the drugstores, supermarkets, or other stores as sources of books.

The male students were all observed patronizing a local

candy store. The candy store had a display of comic books which students looked at -- but they did not purchase any comics.

For two of the students, Burger King provided an important source of reading material. During the summer, Burger King ran a promotion of a Star Wars contest. The game required one to rub out a series of enemies without making a mistake. Whenever the students went to Burger King, nearly everyday weekday, they got at least one of the games. On the back of the game card was a detailed explanation of the rules. The rules were written in small print and in legal language. The students not only read the rules but discussed them. They knew the rules well and could discuss the fine points of the rules related to winning (e.g., that a winning game card had to be verified and what that might mean if you tried to cheat).

A major source of books were the frequent garage sales held during the Summer. Within the community, many blocks organized coordinated garage sales. Paperback books, old textbooks, children's books could typically be found at garage sales. Textbooks were an especially desired item (since students were not allowed to take their textbooks home from school during the year, parents sought to buy textbooks). Students did not independently go to the garage sales but would accompany their parents. If students did not go, it was likely that parents would bring back a book or two for their children.

Although there were many churches in the community, churches were not a source of books, except for religious books and bibles. These books students received during Sunday school.

Only one student reported reading the books he received from Sunday school. The others said that while they received the books they just hadn't gotten around to reading them yet.

In sum, there were few institutional sources of books for students. What sources were available either did not pertain to adolescents or were organized in a manner that made it unlikely that students would gain access to the books.

NORTOWN SCHOOL COMMUNITIES

Diagram 7-2 shows that there are no bookstores within the immediate community. Like the Bigtown School community, the primary source for purchasing paperback books was through the bookstores at suburban shopping malls. Unlike the Bigtown School community, there were no commercial institutions within the immediate community which sold books. Trips to the supermarket, drugstore, discount store, etc., all required a car trip. As shown in Diagram 7-2, there is very little to describe in the way of community resources for books.

The public library was located within a reasonable walking distance for some older, middle school Nortown students. However, for other students the distance was too great. The library was open on weekdays and Saturdays.

Although students knew of the public library and had been to the library at least once, they did not view the library as a place to go for books. That is, they would go to the library if taken to the library by parents. Otherwise, it was unlikely that the students would go.

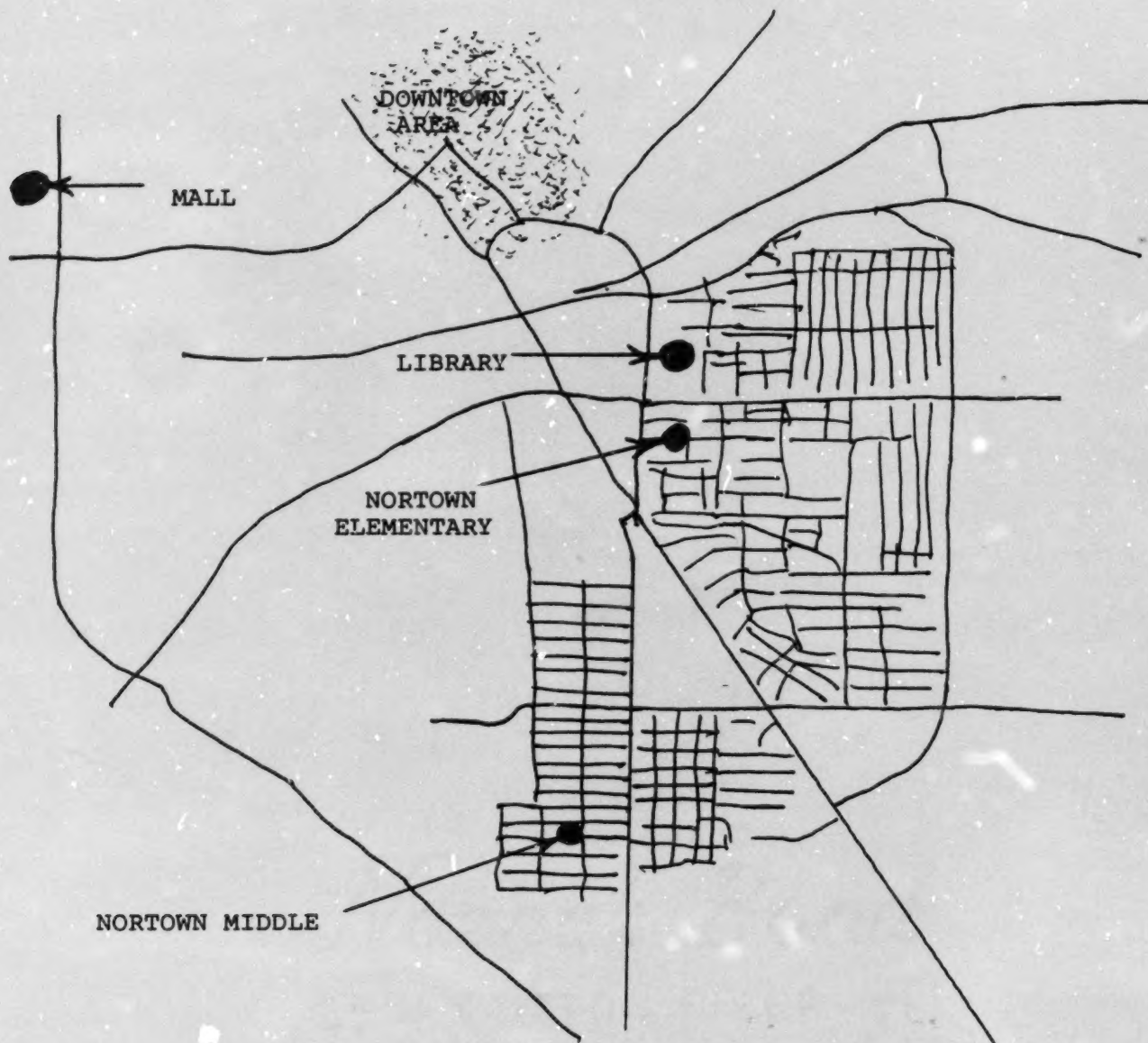


DIAGRAM 7-2 NORTOWN SCHOOLS COMMUNITY

The churches in the neighborhood provided religiously oriented reading materials such as bibles and sunday school books (mostly pamphlet type material).

NON-CLASSROOM READING AND WRITING RESOURCES AT HOME

The sparse source of non-classroom reading and writing resources in the Bigtown and Nortown school communities might suggest that there would be few reading and writing resources (especially books) in students' homes. However, students' homes were rich sources of a broad variety of reading and writing resources and books. To suggest the nature of home reading and writing resources, three students' homes will be described in detail.

INSIDE THE HOME OF A BIGTOWN MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENT

John had taken his school textbooks home against school policies. He had tacitly been encouraged by his parents to do so even though they had to pay for the books. In addition to the school textbooks, John had a collection of paperback books that primarily included non-fiction works like Letters to Dear Abby, Guinness Book of World Records, Baseball Facts, and More Games to Play.

John received his collection of books from his parents and relatives. Being the oldest child he did not receive any hand-me-down books. However, the rest of the children in the family did. Hand-me-down books provided John with the opportunity to instruct his brothers and sisters about the

books.

John also received books from friends. He traded and borrowed books. As he explained the process, someone would tell you about this great book they were reading. Usually, they would specifically refer to one part of the book; -- an interesting or sex-oriented scene. That would provoke the other students to ask about reading the book. At that time, regardless of whether the first student had finished reading the book, the book would be lent to one of the other students.

In addition to John's own collection of books, there was a set of encyclopedia's in the house, a family book collection (mostly books read by the parents), magazine collections, and a daily newspaper. John said he used all of the resources except the encyclopedia (which he would use if he had to).

John and his friends engaged in a game called draw-down and write-down. In this game, they would decide to draw a particular object (e.g., a space ship). Side-by-side the friends would draw the object and compare who did a better job. Sometimes they would work on the drawings at night and re-compare drawings the next day. The same thing occurred with write-down. They would choose a particular event or object to write about (e.g., the baseball team). Although I observed draw-down, I never observed write-down and John never showed me anything he wrote from a write-down game.

INSIDE THE HOME OF A BIGTOWN SIXTH GRADE STUDENT

Steven had a large collection of science fiction books (25-30 paperback books). He also had mystery books, sports books, game books, and non-fiction books like the Guinness Book of World Records. However, most of the Summer reading he said he did involved the bible and his Sunday school books. He said he read them everyday.

In addition to his own book collection, Steven's family had a set of encyclopedias, a magazine collection, and a family collection of books. The family received a daily newspaper.

Steven received most of his books from his parents and from relatives. He did not share or borrow books from friends although he talked with friends about books. Occasionally he would mention a book he wanted to his parents. For example, after he saw the movie E.T., he wanted the book. Eventually, his parents got the book for him (about two weeks later).

INSIDE THE HOME OF A NORTOWN FIRST GRADE STUDENT

Mark was the youngest of two children. He received a lot of hand-me-down books from his older brother. Most of the books were Dr. Seuss books and other picture books. Some of the books were children's magazines that had been saved. In addition, Mark had a children's dictionary.

In addition to his own collection of books, there was a family book collection consisting of paperback editions of past best-sellers and romance novels. However, Mark also had available his grandmother's book collection. Mark and his

brother spent two to three days per week at their grandmother's house. She bought books for the two of them and was the major source of books for the family. According to Mark, his grandmother had an encyclopedia, a dictionary, and lots of books he couldn't read.

All of the students' families can be described as working-class families. Mark's family relied primarily on government assistance. In each of the families, each child had their own book collection. In each family there was a family book collection. Further, in each family relatives and family members were the major source of books.

SECTION 4 -- DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

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CHAPTER 8 -- DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into sections. First, the intent of the study is reviewed. Second, findings from each chapter are summarized. Third, implications of the findings for research are discussed. Emphasis is placed on building theoretical-models of reading and writing development as a classroom-based process.

Unlike Chapters 1 through 7, Chapter 8 cannot be read independently of other chapters. Readers who have not read Chapter 1 and/or the Overviews presented in Chapters 3 through 7, should do so before reading this chapter. The theoretical assumptions, research method, and research limitations are discussed in those sections and are not repeated here.

THE INTENT OF THE STUDY

The intent of the study was to explore grounded hypotheses about reading and writing resources that had been generated through a previous ethnographic study of middle school students reading and writing activities. Of specific concern were the following questions:

1. How do students gain access to reading and writing resources? across grades?
2. What is the nature of the use and control of reading and writing resources across grades?

That is, the intent of the study was to examine continuity and change in use of, control of, and gaining access to reading and writing resources across grades kindergarten to eight.

In conceptualizing the study, a definition of reading and writing resources was needed. Two categories of resources were proposed for heuristic purposes. The first category was physical resources such as pencils, pens, paper, books, and erasers. A second category was linguistic task framework resources. Linguistic task framework resources are perhaps best viewed as a set of constraints on what is to read or written and how something is to be read or written. The constraints are a resource because they direct and limit what is to be read or written, how it is to be read or written, and how one is to interpret what is being read or written.

The intent of the study was to address the research questions with regard to both physical resources and linguistic task framework resources.

The questions require a descriptive response. Given the limited number of research studies in this area, a decision was made to emphasize detailed descriptions across grades within two kindergarten through grade eight sequences.

The descriptions can best be described as case study descriptions that are complementary to an ethnographic approach. That is, although the study builds on previous ethnographic research and employs a series of anthropological constructs for looking at reading and writing resources, the study itself cannot be characterized as ethnographic (for a discussion of

criteria for ethnographic research in the field of reading see Green & Bloome, 1983; and Szwed, 1982). In brief, the units of analysis were not consistent with an ethnographic framework. However, because the study builds on ethnographic research, includes underlying assumptions consistent with an ethnographic approach, and, is intended to inform ethnographic studies of classroom reading and writing (specifically those studies concerned with the social context of reading and writing), the study is viewed as complementary to an ethnographic approach.

The findings presented in this study are not intended to be generalized at the level of their specific description. That is, the detailed descriptions of the use of, control of, and gaining access to reading and writing resources presented in this study may not necessarily hold across all classrooms. That is, the findings do not describe normative patterns against which classroom or school activity can be evaluated. However, the findings are intended to be generalizable at another level. That is, the findings reveal the nature of continuity and change across a set of dimensions of the context of reading and writing activities. It is in the specifying of the nature of continuity and change and in the generation of dimensions that the findings are generalizable. In addition to the issue of generalizability, the findings reported here provide educators with a way of talking about and looking at reading and writing resources.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Findings are reported in five major areas: (1) the locus of reading and writing resources, (2) reading and writing linguistic task framework resources, (3) economic philosophies underlying gaining access to reading and writing resources, (4) sex differences in student use of, control of, and gaining access to reading and writing resources, and (5) non-classroom reading and writing resources. The last three areas emerged out of the data collection process while the first two were determined prior to entering the field sites. Major findings in each area are summarized below.

LOCUS OF READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

1. As students progress from kindergarten to grade 8, the location of physical reading and writing resources increasingly becomes the individual student. That is, the location of pens, paper and textbooks moves from the classroom to the student. Even secondary sources for pens, paper and textbooks show increasing individual responsibility (e.g., in the middle school purchasing materials from the school store). There increasing individual student responsibility for physical reading and writing resources.

2. As students progress from kindergarten through grade 8, the location of linguistic task framework resources remains with the teacher and curriculum materials (e.g., worksheets). In brief, across K-8, the school system maintains control of what students do with the physical reading and writing resources. There is no increase in locating linguistic task frameworks resources with students.

3. The two findings above seem inherently contradictory. As a students become increasingly responsible for physical reading and writing resources, there is no increase in student responsibility for linguistic task framework resources. The manifestation of the two themes is symbolized through changes in classroom space and use across grades. As students progress from kindergarten to grade 8, seatwork area (with individual desks in columns and rows) increases, play area moves outside the classroom, and official student talk moves from a small group area to whole-class seatwork area. Students increasingly sit, talk, and work as individuals. However, the impetus of the increasing individualism is towards conformity.

That is, though students have increasing individual responsibility, part of that responsibility involves doing what all others are doing as established by the teacher and the curriculum materials.

READING AND WRITING LINGUISTIC TASK FRAMEWORK RESOURCES

1. The nature of the linguistic task framework resources dominant in classrooms remained constant across grades kindergarten through eight. There was little change across grades.

2. The nature of the linguistic task framework resources across grades kindergarten through eight primarily involved 'text reproduction' and/or 'cataloging.' Text reproduction is -- as its name implies -- the reproduction of text. The reproduction can occur orally or in writing. The oral rendition of text, copying, and tracing are all common examples of text reproduction. Cataloging involves the listing of items. Like a telephone book or Sears catalog, the listing of items is not only the dominant feature of the text but is itself the substance of the text. Common classroom examples of cataloging are spelling lists, vocabulary lists, and lists of

things done over the Summer vacation.

3. The dominant linguistic task frameworks across grades kindergarten through eight eschewed production of connected discourse and primarily

4. Similarities of the linguistic task framework resources across grades are at both the surface level and at deeper levels. For example, while copying as an overt procedure and framework resource reoccurs across grades, copying itself is only a surface level manifestation of text reproduction and is related to the memorization of lyrics and the oral rendition of text. That is, given the nature of copying as it occurred in classrooms -- which involved reproduction primarily or only for the sake of reproduction -- it can be viewed as similar to oral rendition done only for the sake of the oral reproduction of text. In both cases, the meaning of text is either peripheral or absent.

5. There were few instances of text production (e.g., telling a story).

6. From second grade on, cataloging reappears as what counts as composition (a detailed description of cataloging can be found in Bloome, in press).

7. There was little variation in the nature of linguistic task framework resources in the second, third, fourth and fifth grade. Copying questions from the blackboard or book (e.g., Diagram 4-12 and 4-13) continued to be a major seatwork task. Tracing and copying for cursive writing also occurred. Worksheets across grades primarily required circling or underlining (e.g., Diagram 4-14). Worksheets that required fuller answers were often organized to restrict what could be written.

8. Findings across grades show that linguistic task framework resources are characterized by text reproduction, short text based answers (eschewing interpretation and student background and cultural knowledge), and cataloging. Few opportunities were provided for student text production. The nature of linguistic task framework resources was consistent across grades with little variation or development.

9. The findings suggest that a limited set of linguistic task framework resources are offered across grades.

10. The findings do not describe from where linguistic task framework resources derive. In each classroom, teachers respond to immediate academic needs. These needs may be defined by explicit school goals (perhaps adopted from a basal reading series), testing (both pre-tests and upcoming achievement tests), and needs perceived by the teacher based on school goals and testing. Thus, an institutionally fostered view or perspective is promulgated. In addition to institutional factors are historical factors. Students arrive in classrooms with a history of participation in classroom reading and writing tasks. They may demand that they be provided with linguistic task framework resources similar to those they have learned to use in previous grades. Teachers may find it difficult and disruptive to change the set of linguistic task framework resources available.

ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES UNDERLYING GAINING ACCESS TO
READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

1. Across all grades there are explicit and implicit economic theories about the distribution of reading and writing resources.

2. In part, the economic philosophies inherent in the distribution of reading and writing resources derived from school district policies. The ways in which the school district allocated supplies to teachers influenced classroom economic philosophies.

3. Across teachers, their common economic philosophy was that students should have reading and writing resources available to them but that students should not waste the resources, should use the resources wisely and conserve whatever resources they could, and that students should take as much responsibility for their own reading and writing resources as possible.

4. Teachers differed (1) in the degree of responsibility for resources they expected of students (in part, this was a function of grade

level), (2) in how they implemented their economic philosophies, and (3) the degree to which they saw the distribution of reading and writing resources as a means to teach economic values.

5. The economic philosophies underlying the distribution of reading and writing resources may be influenced by classroom management issues.

6. For students, the economic philosophy could be stated as making the best use of the limited resources one has and don't waste anything.

7. Although students buy the resources, students may view the resources as really belonging to the school.

8. In brief, teachers tended to view the distribution of reading and writing resources either as a pragmatic/management issue and/or as a means to teach values and economics.

9. The economic philosophies described by the teachers differed from those inferred from student behavior and comments.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN STUDENT USE OF, CONTROL OF, AND
GAINING ACCESS TO READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

1. In the middle school grades, sex-linked differences in reading and writing resources are clearer. Female students bring more supplies to school than male students, female students bring a broader range of supplies both male and female students tend to borrow from female students after attempting to borrow from a close friend.

2. Female students tended to share resources within a well-defined social network.

3. The degree to which the teacher (and/or the school) provided reading and writing resources may be a mediating factor in the description of the sex-linked distribution of reading and writing resources. In the earlier grades, less difference was seen in the distribution of reading and writing resources across male and female students. Part of the explanation may be the role of the school and teacher in providing resources. Simply put, because of the teacher/school, sex-linked differences may be masked or non-existent.

4. In addition, sex-linked differences in reading and writing resources may be confounded by classroom academic status. It is not clear whether being in the top group contributed to bringing resources, whether sex-role differentiation contributed, and/or whether bring resources contributed to sex-role differentiation and academic status.

5. Within adolescent male peer groups and perhaps other male peer groups, there is a designated male intellectual role. The designated male intellectual can be both academically successful and a member of the peer group.

6. It is not clear from the findings whether the peer group accepts the designated male intellectual (that is, the role would be a structural phenomena of the group) or whether the designated male intellectual accepts the peer group or whether it is both. It is not clear how students assume the role, nor is it clear how the school, the student, and the peer group influence the establishment of the designated male intellectual role.

NON-CLASSROOM READING AND WRITING RESOURCES

1. There were few institutional or community sources of books for students. What sources were available either did not pertain to adolescents or were organized in a manner that made it unlikely that students would gain access to the books.

2. Students' homes were rich sources of a broad variety of reading and writing resources and books.

3. Relatives and friends were major sources or books.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR RESEARCH AND THEORY-BUILDING

In this section, two views of the findings are presented. The views are complementary and address different issues and research agendas.

A MEDIATING FACTORS VIEW

One way to view the findings above is as a set of mediating factors that influence classroom reading and writing instruction. Both physical resources and linguistic task

framework resources influence (1) the kinds of activities in which students engage and (2) how successful students can engage in reading and writing activities that facilitate reading and writing development.

For example, students who cannot gain access to more than a single sheet of paper are unlikely to engage in drafting activities prior to composing nor are students likely to engage in extensive revision of composed texts. Teachers who are limited to providing sparse resources (either because of an underlying economic philosophy or a limited school budget) are unlikely to frequently organize reading and writing activities that require extensive reading and writing resources.

Among the mediating factors listed are: (1) the availability of institutional and community reading and writing resources, (2) gender, (3) school district policies, (4) teacher economic philosophies, (5) the nature of the linguistic task framework resources provided, (6) the degree to which the location of physical reading and writing resources is the individual or the communal class, (7) the degree of control exercised by the school over linguistic task framework resources, (8) classroom management and organization, (9) the degree to which teachers used the distribution of reading and writing resources to teach economic values, (10) assigned academic status, (11) acceptance by the peer group, and (12) acceptance of the peer group. There may, of course be other factors either not identified by the study or factors not summarized here.

A MACRO-MICRO VIEW

Many of the findings reported in this study lend themselves to structuralist inferences. That is, many of the findings suggest that cultural values, meanings, and activity that exist in the larger culture surface within the micro-culture of the classroom. For example, the findings on sex-role differentiation in the classroom, in part, parallel norms of sex-role differentiation in the larger culture. Findings on the locus of reading and writing resources seem to parallel broad, cultural values of individualism and conformity. The findings on economic philosophies seem to stem from economic values extant in the larger culture.

However inviting these parallels between the broader society and the classroom may seem, the findings reported in this study do not provide evidence linking what occurs in the classroom to macro-structural processes. What the findings may do is suggest those areas where research on potential links between macro-structural processes and classroom processes might be fruitfully pursued.

Another way in which bridges can be built between macrostructural processes and classroom processes involves the heuristic framework that each can offer the other. Simply put, looking at classroom processes in ways similar to those used to look at macrostructural processes can provide important insights about the nature of classrooms. The findings in this study can be viewed as a discussion about the nature of tools (reading and

writing tools). Just as knowledge about the nature and ownership of tools within the greater society is important to understand social, economic, political, and cultural processes, so too knowledge about reading and writing resources is important to understanding multiple dimensions of classroom reading and writing activity. By interpreting the findings in this study in terms of the anthropological construct of tools, another view of classroom reading and writing development can be offered. Rather than viewing reading and writing development as an individual phenomena (which may be mediated by cultural or social processes), the construct of reading and writing resources as tools suggests that reading and writing development is a group/cultural phenomena. That is, reading and writing development is not only a phenomena of individuals but also of cohorts, institutions, cultural and social groups, etc. When the findings of this study are interpreted within a "tool" framework, the findings illustrate one set of component processes involved in reading and writing development as a cultural process.

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